dependents in whose company we spent most of our childhood. Min- 592
kadaws divide their servants into "downstairs servants" and "upstairs 357
servants". The downstairs variety are the usual domestics—cook, boy, gardener, office boy and so on. The upstairs variety are not referred to as "servants" (*a-say-khan*); they are girls whose work is all done in the rooms upstairs, who sleep there and spend the greatest part of their day in the quarters inhabited by the family. In many cases this system is one of abuse and oppression. The girls may be poor relatives—cousins in the fourth degree perhaps—or they may be bought up from poor parents who, for a sum of Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 down and intermittent gratuities, will allow their children to go into a theoretically better home. These girls come at any age from seven to fourteen years. They are clothed and fed and their *mon-bo* (sweetmeat money) depends entirely on the mistress they chance upon. When they are young they play with the children of the house and when older they sweep and dust the upstairs rooms—rooms on which we walk only barefoot as distinct from the downstairs rooms swept by an Indian sweeper, and on which they use a feather broom instead of wielding a broom of coconut sticks, thus sealing the distinction; they also wash the personal garments of the household, look after the children and all other housemaid duties. They are rarely kept alone; there may be up to four or five according to the household. The relationship with the family is that of feudal serf or poor relation. [601] ●
They do not call their employers *thakin* and *thakinma* (master and mistress); they address them as Aunt and Uncle-older-than-own-parents; they call the children of the family elder-brother or sister-so-and-so and address all relatives as the children do, but they have no definite salary, no rights and no external connections. It is only in rare cases, however, [534]
that girls reach the age of thirty in an environment not congenial to them; in ideal circumstances it is the duty of the mistress to settle them in an advantageous marriage by the time they are twenty-one or twenty-two. Failing this, the girls generally manage to elope, for elopements [583]
are frequent and not very scandalous in Burma.

In our childhood, when the family was big with growing children, we had five girls with us at one time. Of these, three were our relatives —two sisters, Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Mya Shwe, who were third cousins of my father, and Ma Ngwe Yin, a second cousin of my mother. Both their families were far too poor to keep them. We had to pay respect to Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Ngwe Yin who were both a few years older than me and called us all by our name, but nobody stopped us from bullying the young Mya Shwe and the two unrelated girls as much as we liked. A-Kyi, as we called Ma Ohn Kyi, was always treated as the senior one because my parents considered that she had a good moral character.

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had 693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to 177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space 164 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: *"A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye. 244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about 276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre 427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent. [501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were [447] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits, 262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix- 226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden, 438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only 276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

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III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Wasa (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

Old Age. Old age is the period after one's children are grown, the 'third age' of life. Women are definitely regarded as old after the menopause. The Burmese terms for 'old lady' and 'old man' are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes 'old mother' is used instead of 'old lady.' Long life is considered a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized. 886 601 761

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren, and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be retiring and unobstrusive in their behavior. They should not go out visiting very much; they should eat less and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances. 888

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

The elderly members of a household arise early to see that the rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks, and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

to belong to the same village then she is taken elsewhere. When they arrive, the whole group sits down to chat about the day's proceedings and various other matters. 583

If the parents do not agree to the match and keep their daughter under strict surveillance, the day may have to be postponed several times before the elopement is successful.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

U Myaing was asked to give the names and relationships of as many members of his consanguinal family as possible. In the course of several interviews he remembered no less than 201 individuals plus 64 spouses. Only 26 names of the consanguinal relatives and 8 of the affinal spouses (both 12% of the respective totals) were forgotten. These figures are one indication of the importance of family relations. Of the blood relatives 75 of 21 families were on U Myaing's father's side and 126 of 40 families on his mother's side. Greater emphasis on the mother's side is also seen in the fact that the families of all siblings of mother's father were remembered while father's father's siblings families were disregarded. This is undoubtedly due in part to Daw Aw Zar, his mother, being the surviving parent living with him but is also probably part of a larger pattern. 602

Relationship terms are used in addressing the members of the immediate family, with exceptions for certain situations and individuals (for differentiating individuals; persons in junior relationships) where the proper name or nickname is used, the more remote relations are ordinarily addressed by name. 601●

No differentiation is made in the kinship terms used between mother's and father's side of the family - a circumlocution being needed to indicate this. Male vs. female terms are common for all generations. From the 2nd ascending generation (grandparents) and beyond there is only one term for all males and one for all females for each generation (APO - grandfather; APWAH - grandmother). The same is true for the uncles (U LAY) and aunts (A DAW) although if the individual is older than the connecting parent a special age term is applied (DAW-GYI older aunt, U GYI - older uncle or "big sir.") A DAW is also used as a respect term toward any older woman. Younger

●601 aunts are called DAW LAY - LAY being the junior term, and GYI the senior. The oldest uncle on the father's side is further distinguished by the term BA GYI (Big father); the eldest aunt on the mother's side (older than mother) is GYI DAW. Father is called APAY or endearingly PAPAY. The mother is called AMAY (address) or MAMAY (reference) which are also the terms for eldest sister. The two terms may coincide in part out of regard for the important part which the elder sister plays in taking care of the younger children.

In ego's own generation seniority is stressed even more so that elder elder brother is AKO TYI, younger elder brother is AKO LAY, youngest elder brother is AKO NGEY, and younger brothers are MAUNG LAY. Younger sister is NYI MA. Age differentiation terms at ego's generation are in reference to ego's age position. At the parents generation they are in terms of the father and mother's age position. Age position is not considered laterally to cousins or in the descending generations.

Daughters are THAMEE and sons THA. Grand-children are MYEE and great grand children MYIT indiscriminately of sex. Male first cousins are NYI-AKO-TAMUN-KWE, and female first cousins are NYI-MA TAMUN-KWE. Their children are given the same terms as grand children (MYEE) and call ego BA-GYI (big father).

The dominant feature of the Burmese kinship system is the emphasis on relative age. This is a reflection of the importance of seniority seen throughout the social organization in which the seniors are accorded respect and diffidence by the juniors and in turn have to assume responsibility for the juniors.

593 U Myaing is the bread-winner of the family and because of this fact coupled with his relationship position he makes the major decisions for the family. He will, however, consult the three adult members of the family (including the eldest daughter) on important issues where discussion is necessary. His attitude toward his mother is one of great respect bordering on reverence. When I wanted to take their pictures together he dropped to his knees with hands in a prayer attitude before his mother - a typical parent-child attitude, he explained. He is responsible for feeding and clothing the family and providing the education of the children. The daughter

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BURMESE KINSHIP AND THE LIFE CYCLE: AN OUTLINE

CHARLES S. BRANT AND MI MI KHAING[1]

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

121 OUR PURPOSE is to present and analyze some basic features of Burmese social organization. So numerous, elaborate and varied are the details of belief and behavior pertaining to kinship and the life cycle that to present them in a manner approximating completeness would be beyond the scope of a brief paper.

121 184 The material that follows, concerning the kinship system, patterns of customary behavior between various pairs of relatives, and the life cycle, is to be understood as applying to contemporary Burmese culture as it is manifested in the villages of Lower Burma. In and near the urban centers, where the secularizing influences of the West have permeated indigenous custom to a greater extent, [177] practice is likely to diverge from ideal patterns much more than in the small, homogeneous village communities. Our concern here is with the social life of the ordinary peasantry of Lower Burma. It is hoped that these data may contribute in some measure to the very scant and fragmentary knowledge of modern Burmese culture.[2]

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

● 601 The basic consanguineal and affinal kinship terminologies are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. The kinship terms, corresponding to the numbers shown on the diagrams, are as follows:[3]

1. ʔaméi Mother.
2. ʔaphéi Father.
3. pharjî Parent's elder brother; parent's elder sister's husband.

[122] 1 The first-named author of this paper expresses his thanks to the Board of Foreign Scholarships for appointment to a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, making possible the field research period 1949-50 in Burma, and to the Social Science Research Council for supplementary support in the form of a World Area Research Training fellowship.

2 The interested reader is referred to Shway Yoe's *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, first published in 1882 and most recently reprinted by Macmillan & Co., London, for the only fully-rounded account of Burmese culture. See also Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (London, 1946) for a culturally insightful narrative of life in a Burmese family.

3 For assistance in transcription of the kinship terms thanks are due Professor W. S. Cornyn. The symbols follow the system employed in his *Outline of Burmese Grammar* (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1944).

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4. ʔûjî Parent's next younger brother; parent's next younger sister's husband.
5. ʔûlaʔ Parent's second younger brother; parent's second younger sister's husband.
6. ʔûlêi Parent's youngest brother; parent's youngest sister's husband.[4]
7. jîjî Parent's elder sister; parent's elder brother's wife.
8. dójî Parent's next younger sister; parent's next younger brother's wife.
9. dólaʔ Parent's second younger sister; parent's second younger brother's wife.
10. dólêi Parent's youngest sister; parent's youngest brother's wife.
11. ʔaphôu Grandfather.
12. ʔaphwâ Grandmother.
13. phôulêi Grandparent's brother; grandparent's sister's husband.
14. phwâlêi Grandparent's sister; grandparent's brother's wife.
15. ʔakóu Elder brother; elder male cousin.
16. máun Younger brother; younger male cousin (woman speaking).
17. nyí Younger brother; younger male cousin (man speaking).
18. ʔamà Elder female cousin; elder sister.
19. nyímà Younger female cousin; younger sister (woman speaking).
20. hnamà Younger female cousin; younger sister (man speaking).
21. θâ Son.
22. θamî Daughter.
23. tú Sibling's son; spouse's sibling's son; son of first cousin.
24. túmà Sibling's daughter; spouse's sibling's daughter; daughter of first cousin.
25. θameʔ Daughter's husband.
26. cwêimà Son's wife.
27. myî Grandchild; sibling's grandchild; grandchild of first cousin.
28. myiʔ Great-grandchild.
29. tí Great-great-grandchild.
31. nyímàlêi Wife.
32. mêimmà Wife (referential).
33. yaupphà Wife's brother; wife's sister's husband.
34. khémà Wife's younger sister; wife's younger brother's wife.
35. mayî Elder brother's wife; wife's elder sister; wife's elder brother's wife.
36. yaukkhamà Spouse's parent.
37. kóu kóu Husband.

4 In everyday usage this term is frequently applied to all uncles, regardless of their age relative to parent.

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38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband.
40. khɛ̀ʔóu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her

[Text continues on page 442]

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KEY TO SYMBOLS
Terms in parentheses: woman speaking
% on ego's generation: older than ego
% on first ascending generation: older than ego's parent
: younger than ego's parent
: second younger to ego's parent
: youngest to ego's parent

FIG. 1. Diagram of the Burmese kinship system. (Triangles represent males, circles females.)

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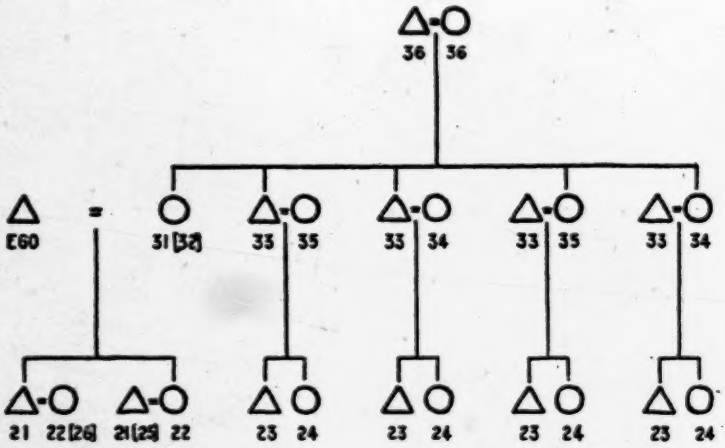

FIG. 2. Diagram of terms for wife's kinsmen. (Terms in brackets in Figs. 2 and 3 are referential usages.)

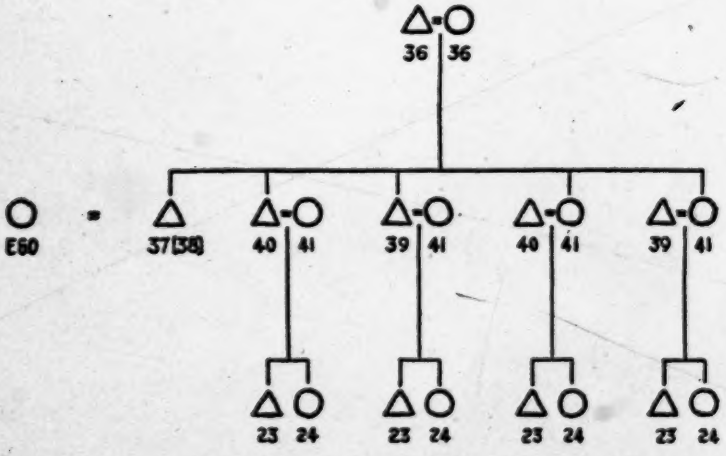

FIG. 3. Diagram of husband's kinsmen.

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/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

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Burmese Consanguineal Terms

(a-)p'ɣ-ma³ ggM
(a-)p'e³-ma³ ggM
(a-)p'wa³ gM
(a-)mi³ M
(a-)mo M
mi-kri³ MoSi,FoBW
mɣ-t'we³ MySi,FyBW
(a-)ri³ FSi,MBW
ats-ma³ oSi
ńi-ma ySi(ws)
hnats-ma³ ySi(ms)
sa-mi³ D,pNi
tu-ma³ xNi

(a-)p'i³ ggF
(a-)p'e³ ggF
(a-)p'u³ gF
(a-)p'a³ F
(a-)p'o³ F
p'ɣ-kri³ FoB,MoSiH
p'ɣ-t'we³ FyB,MySiH
u³-ri³ MoB,FoSiH
a³-mang³ MyB,FySiH
ats-hui oB
ńi yB(ms)
(a-)mong yB(ws)
sa³ S,pNe
tu xNe

mre³ gCh
mrats ggCh

Burmese Affinal Terms

yok-k'a-ma³ Pl
mɣ-ya³ W
yok-ma³ Sil(ws)
mɣ-ri³ oSil(ms)
k'ai-ma³ ySil(ms)
k'rwe³-ma³ Dl

lang H
yok-p'a³ Bl(ms)
k'ai³-ui oBl(ws)
mat yBl(ws)
sa-mak Sl

601 **Notes:**

The final glottalized vowels appear in combination as ordinary short vowels, as in a-p'i$^{?}$ gggF but a-p'i̍-ma$^{?}$ gggM, a-ma$^{?}$ "female" but mi̍-ya^{3} W. The superscript 3 symbol (a^{3}) stands for the heavily stressed falling tone of Burmese, which plays an important role in that language. Surd phonemes in unstressed medial position in Burmese are regularly transformed into sonants, and many of the terms in the above table have been affected in this way through the initial prefixed a-, the effect persisting even when the prefix is dropped. Thus, p'i̍-kri^{3} FoB is now pronounced bi̍-gyi^{3} ~ bi̍-dyi^{3}. This sonantization is even reflected in the written forms, in doublets such as a-p'i$^{?}$ ~ a-b'i$^{?}$ gggF, a-p'a$^{?}$ ~ a-b'a$^{?}$ F. In the above table and in the discussion that follows only the surd initial forms are cited.

The parent and grandparent terms show the typically Burmese development of multiple variant forms, as in re^{3}-re^{3} ~ ri-ri "obscurely", lya^{3} "thin" ~ lya$^{?}$ "thin, flimsy", k'a^{3} "bitter" ~ k'a$^{?}$-k'a$^{?}$ "bitterish", lu "man" ~ lu$^{?}$ id. (contemptuous). Both a-p'i$^{?}$ gggF and a-p'e^{3} ggF have been developed from the root represented by Tib. 'a-p'yi gM. Burmese -e regularly stands for Tib. -i (TB -i) and Burmese -i regularly stands for Tib. -e (TB -ei); cf. Burmese k'ye^{3} "to borrow", Tib. skyi-ba; Burmese ne "sun", Tib. nyi-ma; Burmese k'we^{3} "dog", Tib. k'yi; and Burmese ni^{3} "near", Tib. nye-ba; mi^{3} "fire", Tib. me. Burmese a-p'e^{3} is best regarded as the direct cognate of Tib.

601 ʾa-p'yi (the medial y is secondary), and a-p'iʾ ggF as a secondary form. Note that above gM there are only the corresponding feminine terms (p'ɣ̆-miʾ is given as an alternative for a-p'ɣ̆-maʾ). A-p'waˀ gM is connected with p'waˀ "to bear (children)", a root for which no comparisons have been found. A-p'ui gF is from TB *p'u, Burmese final -ui being the normal equivalent of final -u elsewhere; cf. Burmese ngui "to weep", Tib. ngu-ba; Burmese k'ruiˀ "dove", Kachin k'ru; Burmese puiˀ "insect", Tib. ʾbu; Burmese kuiˀ "9", Tib. dgu, Kachin ja-k'u. For the semantic connection with Tib. p'ú-bo, Kachin p'u oB, cf. Tib. ʾa-bo ~ ʾa-po, Tib. ʾa-ta and Tsangla a-ta, which show a similar equivalence. The latter root appears in the Lolo languages in regular usage, but in Burmese is represented only by t'aˀ-t'aˀ F, said to be used by "male members of the royal family in Mandalay" (see Judson, note 7); cf. Arakanese a-da gM, a-dwa "old woman" (Houghton). Burmese may have a cognate to Nung a-k'ang gF in the element k'ang, found only in combination, viz. k'ang-pwanˀ "spouse", k'ang-b'ya "sir madam" (polite), p'ɣ̆-k'ang F, mɣ̆-k'ang M.

In addition to a-miʾ and a-me M, Burmese has a-maʾ "female, feminine suffix", which corresponds to a-p'aʾ "father, masculine suffix for birds", and maʾ Si. A fourth term is a-mai M, which in Tavoyan (Merqui) is used to denote oSi (ats-maʾ); mai alone is prefixed to names of women to indicate seniority or respect (cf. a-pai "madam",

601 an address used by husband to wife). The regular term for M, however, is a-mi^{1}, from the Tibeto-Burman root *me "woman". It appears in combinations such as mɣ-p'a^{1} ~ p'ɣ-mi^{1} "parents", mɣ-sa^{3} "mother and son", and in min^{3}-ma^{1} "woman" (nasalized by the following m). In isolated form (mi^{1}), it is used for "daughter", and is prefixed to names of girls and young women to indicate superiority on the part of the speaker (contrast mai). A variant of this term is found in sa-mi^{3} D, also written sam-mi^{3}, the falling tone perhaps having been transferred from sa^{3} S.

The Kachin and Kadu term wa F is represented in Burmese by wa-kri^{3} and wa-kri^{3}-ma^{1}, terms of address (not polite) applied to elderly men and women, respectively (Arakanese dialect). Cf. also wă-ri^{3} MB, a variant of u^{3}-ri^{3}.

The terms for MSi and FB are of the periphrastic type that has been so often encountered in this review. mɣ-kri^{3} and p'ɣ-kri^{3} are formed with kri^{3} "big" (cf. Lepcha tă-gri "male", Tib. bgre-ba "to grow", and perhaps Kachin k'ri Sl). mɣ-t'we^{3} and p'ɣ-t'we^{3} are combined with the element t'we^{3} " to be the youngest", found also in sa^{3}-t'we^{3} "youngest son". These combined terms exactly parallel Kachin nu-doi, wa-doi, and ɣa-doi, and the roots themselves are probably cognate; cf. Burmese krwe "shellfish", Kachin k'oi; Burmese krwe^{3} "a debt", Kachin k'oi "to borrow or lend"; Burmese krwe^{3} "to scream", Kachin ma-groi; Burmese bwe "cowlick", Kachin boi; Burmese twe^{3} ~ t'we^{3} "scarlet" (intensive), Kachin t'oi "to

601 light, shine". mɨ-t'we^{3} and p'ɨ-t'we^{3} are commonly used in the meanings "step-mother" and "step-father", respectively, thus perhaps producing some of the variations noted below.

The terms for MB and FSi are extremely puzzling, partly because of the difficulty in the linguistic analysis per se. The element ri^{3} is conceivably a doublet form of kri^{3} "big"; cf. krwap-krwap ~ rwap-rwap ~ krwap-rwap ~ rwap-krwap "violently", krwa^{3}-rwa^{3} "vain, boastful", k'ram-ram "to surround with a fence", k'rum-rum "to cover", but the relationship is doubtful at best. The element u^{3} appears to be identical with u^{3} "head, beginning" (cf. Classical Tib. dbu, Central Tib. u, id.). As an isolated term it is prefixed to names of men considerably older tha the speaker. Tho element mang^{3} is comparable with mang^{3} "ruler, governor, official".

The sibling terms present further difficulties of analysis. The terms tabulated above show the arrangement in Brown, with sex of speaker distinguished only for the ySb terms. Ats-ma^{3} is used by speakers of both sexes, as definitely stated by Judson, but Judson cites ats-kui as a man's term. Judson further gives mong-ngai yB(wa) (ngai "small") and mong-kri^{3} oB(wa) (kri^{3} "big"), and defines mong simply as B(wa), but notes its use as an "appellative for young men, rather respectful". It seems likely, therefore, that ats-kui originally paralleled ats-ma^{3} as a term used by speakers of both sexes, but has come to be regarded as a man's term through the development of mong-kri^{3}, a woman's term.

601 It is tempting to identify the elements ats- and hnats- (pronounced ʔa-, hnă- in modern speech) with ats "unit, one", hnats "two". Burmese final -ats and -ań are substitutes for -ik, -ing, which are lacking in this language; cf. Burmese ts'ats "joint", Tib. ts'igs; Burmese sats "small animal of the tiger genus", Tib. gzig "leopard"; Burmese hmyats "bamboo sprouts", Tib. smyig-ma; and Burmese tsan^{3} "to bind", Tib. 'o'ing-ba; Burmese mań "name", Tib. ming; Burmese hrań "long", Tib. ring-ba "long", sring-ba "to extend". Burmese ats- in ats-kui, ats-ma^{3} can thus readily be identified with Mikir ik oB(ms), yB(ws); the early pronunciation (*ik-kui) appears to have been partly retained in Taungyo, which has ik-kur oB.

The element kui does not appear alone, though it is prefixed to names of "persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (Brown, p. 104). It is thus contrasted with mong, prefixed to names of "persons younger than the speaker or inferior to him in status, also frequently to equals" (ibid.), and tends to parallel u^{3}, prefixed to names of "old men and men of much higher rank than the speaker" (ibid.). We must, indeed, identify this term as the Burmese representative of Tibeto-Burman *k'u MB; the final -ui <-u shift is regular (supra) and the unaspirated initial is paralleled by Kachin ku ~ gu. Some confirmation of this view is offered by the combined term kui-hrang MB (nephew's term).

•601 An additional Sb term, apparently obsolescent, is represented by nong oB (cited in Tin, 1915), nong-to oB (royal or divine), used also in the combined term ní-nong "older and younger brothers". The latter usage suggests that it is properly a man's term. The term is used dialectically in Tavoyan and Intha in the form *nong-kri^{3} oB (Tavoyan a-nong gui, Intha nong kuw). Tavoyan further has a-ngɛ́ < a-ngai yB (ngai "small"), while Intha has (nga-)mong yB. Taungyo uses mong for Si rather than B, in the terms la̰-mo gwi < *la̰-mong-kri^{3} oSi and la-mong nga < *la-mong-ngai ySi; la̰- is probably a substitute for lu "man (homo)"; cf. Taungyo, Danu lu pɛ̈, Tavoyan lu θa ~ lu θa-ngɛ́ Ch.

Burmese ní yB(ms), ní-ma^{3} ySi(ws) closely parallel Tib. nu, nu-mo, but are cognate rather with Lepcha nyi, as in nyi-t'i ggCh. They can further be compared with ní "to be even, equal; to be united, clannish".

The Si terms show some dialectical variation. Tavoyan and Intha make use of the term a-mai M (supra), viz. Tavoyan a-mɛ́ Si, a-mɛ́ gui oSi, a-mɛ́ θa ySi, Intha mɛ̈ kuw oSi. Oddly enough, Judson notes that the Mon, who live in the Tavoyan area, use ats-ma^{3} oSi for "mother". Cf. also Burmese ma^{3} Si (a-ma^{3} "female"), Arakanese ma-ma oSi.

Both Tib. ming-po B(ws) and sring-mo Si(ms) may have cognates in Burmese, though in well disguised form. The former may lie behind Burmese k'a̰-man^{3} < *k'a̰-ming "father"

601 (honorific), k'ă-man^{3}-to "God", k'ă-man^{13}-lu^{3}-lang "a young unmarried man" (poetic) (for k'ă-, vide infra). The latter may explain the puzzling Burmese term (a-)hrang "lord, master", hrang-ma^{3} "Miss" (used by women to female members of royal family and to wives of officials, also among ordinary people towards wives or other women). Burmese hrang indicates an original *srang rather than *sring, yet a perfect phonetic parallel is furnished by Burmese hrang "to live", Himalayish *sring. We have further support for this derivation in the inscriptions, where both srwang and srwing occur (Seidenstücker). The term is still written a-hsyang when it has reference to a monarch.

We have very little data on the Burmese terminology for collateral kin (entirely neglected by Brown). The terms cited in Judson are formed with the element to "to be related" (used also in terms for "aunt", supra), viz. ni-ats-mă-to, hnats-mă-to "female cousin", ni-ats-kui-to "male cousin", and mong-to "cousin". It can be inferred that the distinctions in the corresponding sibling terms are also in effect here, e.g. ni-ats-mă-to "older or younger female cousin"(ws), hnats-ma^{3} "younger female cousin"(ms). In view of the N terms (infra) one would expect to find a distinction made between parallel and cross cousins, but the evidence for this is limited to the single term sa-mi^{3}-mrok-ma^{3} "cousin of a different sex, and having a parent of a different sex from the parent of the other"

601 (fully defined only in Judson's English-Burmese Dict.). The first part of this combined term is sa-mi^{3} D, while the second part can be identified with myok-sa^{3} (or myok-sa^{3}-to) "spouse" (medial r and y are interchangeable in most instances). The element mrok may be honorific; cf. mrok "to be raised, elevated" (sa^{3}=S).

Burmese sa^{3} S is from Tibeto-Burman *za, the unvoicing of the initial being a regular Burmese phenomenon. The sonant initials are preserved in the Lolo languages discussed below; cf. Tib. za-ba "to eat", Magari jya, Burmese tsa^{3}, but Lisu, Nyi dza, Ahi, Lolopho dzo; Magari za "son", Burmese sa^{3}, but Lisu za ~ rs, Nyi za, Ahi, Lolopho zo (Ahi, Lolopho final -o <-a). The feminine is formed with -mi^{3} rather than -ma^{3} (mi^{3} is used for "D" as well as for "M"), thus paralleling Nung za-mi, Aka sa-mi. The term for xN, tu ~ tu-ma^{3}, is cognate with Nung pa-du, and may further be connected with tu "to be like, similar". The combined term is tu-sa^{3} "nephews and sons collectively, posterity". Burmese pyui < *pru "young, in the prime of life", a-pyui "young unmarried woman", offers a comparison for Tib. p'rug-gu ~ p'ru-gu "child, young one".

The archaic form of mre^{3} gCh is mliy, and the term is thus directly related to Nung p'a-li, Pyu pli, and Kachin ma-li (see the discussion in pt. 8). As suggested above, the basic meaning of the root seems to be "seed". Similarly, mrats ggCh is probably connected with a-mrats "root", yet a

601 comparison can also be made with Sho (Southern Kuki) a-mlek "small, young" (mrats <*mrik or *mlik). The complete terminology for the first seven generations, ascending and descending, is given below:

Ascending	Descending
(a-)p'a^{3} "father"	sa^{3} "son"
(a-)p'ui^{3} "g. father"	mre^{3} "g. son" ["seed"]
(a-)p'e^{3} "g.g. father"	mrats "g.g. son" ["root"]
(a-)p'i^{3} "g.g.g. father"	ti "g.g.g. son"
(a-)p'ang "g.g.g.g. father" ["plant"]	krwat "g.g.g.g. son"
(a-)hnŏk "g.g.g.g.g. father" ["sprout"]	ts'et "g.g.g.g.g. son"
(a-)tse^{3} "g.g.g.g.g.g. father" ["seed"]	ts'ak "g.g.g.g.g.g. son"

A-tse^{3} "seed", a-hnŏk "germ, sprout from a seed", a-pang "plant, tree" (note the development of aspiration in the kinship term). Thus, the ggggF is the "plant" developed from the "sprout" (gggggF), in turn developed from the "seed" (ggggggF), just as the ggS is the "root" developed from the "seed" (gS). This botanically oriented terminology is comparable with that found in Lepcha (pt. 5), and can be traced also in myui^{3} "seed, seed grain", a-myui^{3} "race, kind, class", Kachin myu ~ a-myu "race, tribe; relative, kinsman". Burmese ti gggS and krwat ggggS are not so easily identified, though the former is perhaps cognate with Lepcha t'i "to be related". The two remaining terms, however, show

• 601 interesting connections with Tibetan. For ts'at ggggg8, cf. Tib. c'ad-pa " begotten, born, descended from", and for ts'ak ggggggS (also "to connect, join, unite by the ends or in continuation"), cf. Tib. c'ags-pa "to be begotten, produced".

The above terms for members of the descending generations are properly neuter rather than masculine (unlike sa^3, which has come to have the specific meaning "son"). A distinction can be drawn, however, between mre^3-yok-kya^3 gS (yok-kya^3 "male") and mre^3-min^3-ma^1 gD (min^3-ma^1 "female").

The affinal terminology of Burmese is something of an olla podrida of diverse elements. Mă-ya^3 "wife", apparently identical with Rai (Kiranti) me-ya, Digaro mi-ya, includes an element -ya^3 which appears elsewhere only in yok-ya^3 (also written yok-kya^3) "male (human)"; it is probably cognate with Tib. ya "one of two things that belong together as being of one kind, or forming a pair", West Tibetan ya-do "associate, companion". If this derivation is correct, it suggests that yok-kya^3 originally meant "husband" rather than "male". The actual term for "husband", viz. lang, is connected with the Tibeto-Burman root *lang "male" (cf. Miju).

Sa-mak Sl is a combined term, in which the Tibeto-Burman root *mag ~ *smag is combined with sa^3 "son". K'rwe^3-ma^1 < *k'rwi-ma^1 Dl presupposes a term *k'rwi Sl, coinciding with Kachin k'ri Sl. The etymological affinities of this root cannot be traced. Tibeto-Burman *snam Dl is represented by wong-hnam, in the modern language used for "husband" but in

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the earlier language used for "husband and wife" (in Tin, 1915, where it is equated with lang-mă-ya^{3}). Since mong is used for yB(ws), it is possible that hmăn was originally the complementary term for ySi(ms); cf. Gyarung snom < *snam Si.

The Sbl terms fall into two classes, viz. those for Sbl(ss) and those for Sbl(ds). Age distinctions appear in the latter class, both in the men's and women's terms. K'ai^{3}-ui oBl(ws) and k'ai-ma^{3} ySil(ms) suggest an original reciprocal term *k'ai ~ k'ai^{3} to cover this relationship. This root is isolated in Burmese, but can be connected with Maru yauk-kpi (for *yauk-k'ai) "male (human)", where yauk is cognate with Burmese yok (vide infra). The element -ui is identical with ui "old", and is found also in p'ui^{3}-mang^{3}-ui "familiar term of compellation, used by young men to elderly men". The term mă-ri^{3} oSil(ms) shows a partial equation of WoSi with FSi, while mat yBl(ws), connected with mat ~ z-mat "nobleman", has a generic resemblance with u^{3}-mang^{3} yB, connected with mang^{3} "ruler, governor, official". A-mat is of some purely linguistic interest, since it has been derived from Indic sources (Sk, amātya), yet it has been reinterpreted as a native term with a- prefix. This is the only Burmese kinship term of foreign origin, insofar as the writer is aware; note that it was borrowed as a title, not as a kinship term.

The most prominent elements of the affinal terminology are yok and k'ă, which appear in a number of combined terms. Yok is the numerary adjunct for mankind or superior beings,

•601 while k'ă is related to a similar prefixed element k'a- found in Southern Lolo (infra). The Sbl(ss) terms alternate with longer forms combined with sa-mi^{3} D, viz. sa-mi^{3}-yok-ma^{1} Sil(ws) and sa-mi^{3}-yok-p'a^{1} Bl(ms). If yok-p'a^{1} and yok-ma^{1} originally meant Fl and Ml, respectively, their present meanings might have been developed through teknonymy, since, under cross-cousin marriage, a man's daughter's father-in-law becomes his own brother-in-law (WB). The use of a single term (yok-k'ă-ma^{1}) for both Fl and Ml can hardly be regarded as an original trait, even though a secondary distinction can be made (yok-k'ă-ma^{1}-yok-p'a^{1} Fl, yok-k'ă-ma^{1}-min^{3}-ma^{1} Ml). The element k'ă also appears in k'ă-mi^{1} "M of Dl or Sl", and in k'ă-mak "F of Dl or Sl", used only in combination with each other.

The only outside comparison that can be suggested for yok is that with Tib. g-yog "servant". Cf. Gyarung zabs-pye "Dl, bride", Tib. žabs-p'yi "servant", and Miri pag-bo "male slave or servant", Tib. bag-po "bridegroom".

Burmese a-ts'we "relative", which appears as early as the Myazedi inscription (ats'uy), is linguistically isolated. It is used in several obsolete terms cited by Tin (1915), viz. ts'we-nan^{13} "a beloved person", ts'we-mai-nan^{13} "a beloved man", ts'we-mong-nan^{13} "a beloved man", and ts'we-san^{1} "wife, husband and wife".

Burmese a-rui^{3}, like the cognate Tib. rus-pa, is used in the meaning "lineage" as well as "bone". Kachin has a-ru

601 hereditary stock", apparently identical with a-ru "root", while n-rut, the direct cognate of Tib. rus-pa, is used only in the literal meaning "bone".

Our information on Burmese marriage regulations and practices is of the cursory sort found in general works like those of Sangermano (the classical early account), Forbes, and Shway Yoe, supplemented by occasional bits from elsewhere. The material that we do have is of little interest. Surnames are not used, and no clan organization has been reported. Marriages are allowed with close blood kin on either side, the only forbidden degrees of relationship (for a man) being those of M, D, Si, A, gM, and gD (listed by Yoe). On the other hand, no especial preference for cousin marriage has been noted.

One outstanding feature of Burmese culture, however, is the custom of matrilocal residence, described as early as ca. 1800 (by Sangermano). The period of matrilocal residence lasts for two or three years (Yoe), or three years (Sangermano), during which time the son-in-law serves his father-in-law (no details are given). If the wife is the only daughter of her parents, the husband may remain with her parents and inherit their property; cf. the Kachin practice called da-ma lung ("the son-in-law ascends"). Furnivall points out that marriage between residents of the same village is the rule, but that there is a "large proportion" of marriages between residents of different villages, and that it is

● 601 them the "almost if not quite invariable custom" for the man to settle in his wife's village (p. 24).

Cross-cousin marriage has been reported only for the Arakanese, who speak one of the most archaic of Burmese dialects. Risley, who describes them under the name "Magh", reports the existence of three endogamous groups, each divided into a number of septs. The following is said of their marriage regulations:

> They observe the simple rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own sept, supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees, which does not differ materially from that arrived at by the standard formula already referred to [the Hindu formula]. In applying these prohibitions, however, there seems to be some laxity when descent is traced through females, for I am informed that a man may marry the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother - a connexion which would not ordinarily be allowed.

Hills specifies that these endogamous clans are patrilineal, and that a single village, unless big, is usually inhabited by members of one clan only. Hills does not record cross-cousin marriage, and his discussion in this respect is not at all clear:

> A man may marry a woman of his own clan who is not a near blood relation. Marriage outside the clan used to be strictly forbidden and I was told that members of different clans would not even eat together in the old days. Now, however, these restrictions have been greatly relaxed and marriage outside the clan is by no means uncommon. (p. 119)

It is difficult to know how to interpret these Arakanese features, which are not known to occur elsewhere within the Burmese culture proper. Endogamy in particular is out of place in this area, and the commensal restrictions open up the possibility of influence from the Hindu caste system (the Arakanese have been heavily Indianized).

601 The Chaungtha, described in Lewin (pp. 36-62) under the variant name 'Khyoungtha', are of Arakanese stock. To judge from the badly recorded list in Webb, p. lxvii, Chaungtha equates MB with WF,HF in the term a-k'an (Burmese k'ang), and FSi with WM,HM in the term a-ri (Burmese a-ri^{3}), as well as FSiCh,MBCh with Bl(ms) in the term yauk-pa (Burmese yok-p'a^{7}). These categorical equations, which are so distinct from anything in Burmese proper, lend strong support to the evidence for cross-cousin marriage cited above. The term for FBCh and MBiCh, i.e. pC, is nyi (Burmese nyi yB,ms), hence we can be sure that Chaungtha draws a distinction between the parallel and cross collateral lines. Especially noteworthy is the use of a-k'an <*a-k'ang (cf. lan < *lang H) for MB in view of Nung a-k'ang gF, and Kuki (e.g. Lushei) pu gF,MB. Chaungtha also has a distinct term for M5i, viz. a-ywai (Arakanese a-ywe), as well as for oSi, viz. a-mai (Arakanese ma-ma, Burmese ma^{7}). In general, however, Chaungtha shows remarkably few deviations from the standard Burmese pattern, hence the categorical equations outlined above are all the more significant.

The Arakanese and Chaungtha material together tends to link Burmese with the groups previously studied. Some of the features present here appear elsewhere in Burmish-Loloish, as is shown in the following discussion.

by Webb, is relatively complete, but the recording is so poor that linguistic analysis is difficult (the tables in Webb fairly bristle with misprints and other mistakes). The Maru terms are tabulated below, while Lashi differences are treated in the notes.

Maru Consonantsignal Terms

(a-)p'yit gH		(a-)p'uk gF
(a-)ui H		(a-)p'o F
mo MoSi,FoBW		p'a-mo FoB,MoSiH
t'ong MySi		p'a-lot FyB,MySiH
ma FSi		myi MS
pui oSi,pC		mong oH,pC
	maa ySb,pC	maang yB(wa)
uk FSiD(ma)		k'an FSiH,MiS
myi MSD(ma)		
	so Ch	
	taa xH	
	myit gCh	

Maru Affinal Terms

ma WH,HH		myi WF
uk MBW		vung HF,FSiH
pui WoSi,oBW(wa),HoBW		mong oSiH(wa),HyB,WoSiH
	maa ySbl	
yuh-mo MoSi		k'an Bl(ma)
taa-mo Bl		uk Sl

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Notes:

The terms for parents and grandparents agree with those in Burmese, except for a-p'yit gM (Tib. ʾa-p'yi). The Burmese cognate here is a-p'e^{3}(-mʾ) ggM; cf. Maru k'it ~ cit "foot" Burmese k'ra; Maru pyit "to give", Burmese pe^{3}; Maru rit "water", Burmese re (Maru -it, also written -ik, probably for -iʾ). This shift is also operative in Maru myit mCh, Burmese mre^{3}. Similarly, Maru -uP (also -ok) stands for Burmese -ui (TB -u), while Lashi has -au(-ou) ~ -auk; cf. Maru p'uk ~ p'ok gF, Lashi p'au, Burmese a-p'ui^{3}; Maru uk, Lashi ou, Burmese ui^{3} "chatty"; Maru k'uk, Lashi k'au, Burmese k'ui^{3} "to steal"; Maru nguk ~ ngok, Lashi ngau, Burmese ngui "to weep"; Maru coung-suk, Lashi caung-sauk, Burmese k'yong^{3}-ts'ui^{3} "to cough". A third Maru-Lashi feature is the replacement of final -a by -o (usually written -ɔ); cf. kyo "to hear", Burmese kra^{3}; tso "to eat", Burmese tsa^{3}; no "ill", Burmese na; pyo "bee", Burmese pya^{3}. This correspondence is noted in p'o F, Burmese p'aʾ; so ~ tso (Lashi so) S, Burmese sa^{3}. Finally, Maru -au, Lashi -u correspond to Burmese -u; cf. Maru tau, Lashi tu, Burmese tu xNe; Maru au, Lashi u, Burmese u "intestines"; Maru kau, Lashi ku, Burmese ku^{3} " to cross"; Maru tau, Lashi tu, Burmese tu^{3} "to dig".

The parents' siblings' terms are modelled after those of Burmese, but different elements are involved. Lashi has mye-no MoSi, mye-t'ang MySi (cf. meya "women"), and p'a-t'ang

• 601 yB. For Maru t'ong (also t'o), Lashi t'ang, cf. Maru nong ~ no "thou", Lashi nang, Burmese nang^3; Maru myong ~ mye "horse", Lashi myang, Burmese mrang^3 (Lashi is more archaic in its retention of medial vowels in general). The element no < *ma can be identified with Burmese a-ma^3 "female", ma^3 Si, though here it seems to represent merely an extension of the Tibeto-Burman term for M. The element lot ~ lo is cognate with Burmese lat "to be middling", a-lat "middle (as of three sons)", Kachin lat "to be first-born", a-lat "the first-born", Nung nam a-lat oB; on the phonetic side, cf. Maru ts'e "deer", Burmese ts'at; Maru se "to kill", Burmese set; Maru wet ~ we "to wear", Burmese wat. The categorical equations that appear in these terms are similar to those found in Burmese; the apparent lacuna in t'ong MySi is filled by a-lat FyBW, corresponding to p'a-lat FyB (Clerk cites lot MySi).

Maru na FSi, WN and nyi (also ngi, ni) MB, WF appear to present the unusual circumstance of a language's retaining a term in one sense and borrowing it in altered form in another sense. Maru na indicates an original Burmese *ne, as in na "to remain", Burmese ne; na "day" (Davies), Burmese ne^3, and can thus be directly compared with Kachin ni MM, Tibeto-Burman ne ~ ni FSi. Lashi ning-mo FoSi, ning-t'ang FySi seem to include the same term *ni, with secondary nasalization produced by the nasal initial (final -ing is phonemically anomalous in Lashi). Similarly, the form nyi

601 (MB) scarcely fits into the Maru phonetic pattern, since after initial n- the final -i of Burmese is represented by -e rather than -i; cf. Maru ne "red", Burmese ni; Maru ne "near", Burmese ni^{3}. We must conclude that the term has been borrowed from Kachin, the semantic link being found in Lashi yuk-ni WM,MBW (Kachin ni means MBW as well as FSi, WM). For MB Lashi uses the affinal term yuk-p'o (infra).

The sibling terms likewise show striking differences from those in Burmese. Nau ySb (also sK-nau "infant , in Clark), which often appears in the nasalized form naung, can be identified as a Kachin loan-word, since Lashi has no rather than -nu (see the discussion above), and the same can be said of the term k'au xCe, Lashi k'ou. Pai ~ bai oSi (Lashi pe ~ be) is perhaps connected with Burmese a-pai " madam" (used by husband to wife). The especial term for yB(ws), viz. maung (Lashi mung), exactly agrees with Burmese mong; cf. Maru t'aung "1,000", Burmese t'ong^{3}; Maru paung "thigh", Burmese pong. Maru mong, Lashi mang oB seems to be identical with the element -mang^{3} of Burmese u^{3}-mang^{3} MyB. Lashi has a term for ySi, viz. nam-mo (vide infra).

As noted above, Maru k'au xCe is a Kachin loan-word. The distinctions between parallel and cross cousins, and between FSiD and MBD, are found also in Kachin, hence one must suspect that influences from that language have been at work here. Nyi equates MB with MBD, or, in view of Lashi yuk-ni (supra), MBW with MBD. Another serial equation

601 is found in uk ~ ek FSiD (Webb) but defined in Clerk as "nephew, niece", and Lashi so-ek FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms). The etymology of this term is not apparent, though phonetically it corresponds to Burmese ui ("old"), used in k'ai^{3}-ui oSl(ws).

The categorical equations found in the affinal terminology sharply sets off the Maru system from the Burmese. The further distinction between nyi WF and vung HF points to Kachin influence, yet note that, unlike Kachin, a single term (Maru na, Lashi ning-mo) covers WM and HM. Maru vung ~ vun HF,FSiH, Lashi vang-mo HF,FoSiH, vang-t'ang FySiH, indicate an original *wang; cf. Maru p'ung "to open", Burmese p'wang^{3}; Maru dung "hole, pit", Burmese twang^{3}; for the root thus reconstructed, cf. Nung wang FB.

The material on Sbl terms is somewhat confusing and hence a complete description cannot be given. Kachin influence is much in evidence, however, both in loan-words (k'su Bl, nau ySbl) and in native terms (pai HoBW = oSl, Kachin na HoBW = oSl). Clerk also cites rat ~ ka-rat oSil, from Kachin rat, id., as shown both by the presence of the non-Maru prefix ka- and by the phonetic development (-at < -e in native words, vide supra, but -at retained in loan-words, as in pat "to read", Burmese pat; myat "profit", Burmese mrat; pa-sat "womb", Kachin pa-jat). Lashi differs from Maru in equating oSiH(ws) with HF (a-vang oSiH, vang-mo HF) rather than with oB (wang ~ mo), yet Lashi does retain mang (Maru mong) in the meaning "HyB".

•601 Yuk-mo Ho6i is found in Lashi in the general meaning "Sil". Phonetically, this term belongs in the series Maru -auk, Lashi -uk ~ -ok, Burmese -ok; cf. Maru lauk "stone", Lashi luk, Burmese kyok < *k-lok; Maru kyauk "to fear", Lashi kyuk, Burmese krok; Maru ʸauk "to drink", Lashi ʸiuk ~ ʸok, Burmese sok. The term is therefore directly connected with the element yok of Burmese yok-k'ʸ-maˀ Pl, yok-maˀ Sil(ws), yok-p'aˀ Bl(ms). The Maru word yuk-mo rather than *yauk-mo must, if correctly recorded, be considered a loan from Lashi. Maru has yauk-kai "male (human)", and yauk-p'o "husband", yauk-p'o ryi "husband's relations" (ryi is plural suffix). In Lashi, however, the corresponding term yuk-p'o is used for MB, WF (= Maru nyi); cf. so-p'o (lit. "son's father"), cited in Abbey both for H and for Fl. We thus have the following series: Burmese yok-p'aˀ Bl(ms), Maru yauk-p'o H, Lashi yuk-p'o MB, WF, all three terms directly cognate. Since *yok is fundamentally an affinal element, the Lashi term yuk-p'o can be regarded as basically referring to WF rather than to MB. The above series can then be restated as follows: Burmese yok-p'aˀ MB, Maru yauk-p'o "brother's WB", Lashi yuk-p'o WF, i.e. affinal male relative through wife. Maru yauk-p'o H is thus to be regarded as secondary, i.e. a woman borrows her brother's term in referring to her own husband.

Maru uk ~ ok and tau parallel Kachin k'ri and nam in showing categorical equations between Sl, Dl and xCi, XN. Lashi so-auk Sl is simply a variant of so-ok FSiD(ms), SiCh(ms).

601 Maru tsu-mo Dl is replaced in Lashi by tu-nam, while Lashi also has nam-mo ySi(ms). Kachin nan, on the other hand, denotes Dl, WySi, MBD(ys), but never ySi. We had inferred above, from the use of Burmese -hnan in the combination mong-hnan, that hnan was originally used for ySi(ms), and this view is corroborated by the Lashi evidence.

The Maru-Lashi terminology in general shows marked deviations from the Burmese, both lexically and structurally. A number of Kachin loan-words have been taken over, often with semantic changes, and the equating of consanguineal and affinal relatives is much like that in Kachin. These features appear in exaggerated form in the terminology of the Atsi, a frontier tribe of Maru-Lashi stock who have identified themselves with the Lahpai branch of the Kachin. The Atsi terms, with Kachin loan-words underlined, are given below

Atsi Consanguineal Terms

(i-)<u>noi</u> gM
(i-)<u>nu</u> M
mi-mo MoSi,FoBW
mi-t'ang MySi,FyBW
(i-)<u>noi</u> FSi
(i-)<u>na</u> oSi,MBD,pC

(i-)<u>ni</u> gF
(i-)<u>wa</u> F
p'a-mo FoB,MoSiH
p'a-t'ang FyB,MySiH
(i-)<u>aa</u> MB
(i-)mang oB,MBS,pC

<u>ning</u> FSiD

ko ySb,MBCh,pC
<u>k'an</u> FSiS
za Ch,pB
tu BCh(ws)
sa-ou SiCh(ms)
<u>an</u> gCh

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Atsi Affinal Terms

(i-)moi WM		(i-)na WF	
co-mo WM,MBW		(i-)ku HF,FBiH,MoB,oSiH(ws)	
(i-)ning SiI(ws)		k'au BI(ms)	
(i-)rai WoSi,ySiH(ws),oSW(ms),HyB			
tu-mo DI, WySi,ySW(ms)		sa-ou SI,HSiCh	

Notes:

The concentration of Kachin loan-words in the terminology for relatives older than Ego is immediately apparent from a glance at the above table. These borrowed terms are generally prefixed with i-, yet the native term mang oB also has this prefix, which can thus be regarded as a type of honorific. Similarly, the remaining terms, applied to relatives younger than Ego, are generally prefixed with nga- ("my"), e.g. nga-mo Ch, nga-gu (for nga-ko) ySb (but a-ko in Davies), nga-du (for nga-tu) BCh(ws), yet the Kachin loan-word ku gCh also has this prefix. Note also the distinction drawn between i-mo oBCh and nga-mo yBCh (Webb).

It is of interest that the Maru-Lashi root *mang oB should have been retained while *pai oSi was being replaced by Kachin na. Perhaps mang was felt to have honorific significance; cf. Burmese mang[3] "ruler, governor, official". The retention of native terms for WSi and FB may reflect a behavior pattern of informality towards these relatives.

The grouping of MBCh with parallel cousins appears to be an Atsi innovation, but our material on Atsi is not sufficiently full to appraise the possible significance of this change.

601 The term ko ySb (written gu in Webb) cannot be placed. Sa-ou closely parallels Lashi so-ok, and corresponds to Burmese *ui; cf. Atsi su "pot", Burmese ui^3; Atsi k'au "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; Atsi ngau "to weep", Burmese ngui; Atsi t'au "to pierce", Burmese t'ui^3; Atsi kau "9", Burmese kui^3 (ou and au are interchangeable). For the relationship between sa-ou Sl and ou-mo WW, MBW, cf. Maru uk Sl, MBW. It would seem that an original reciprocal element *ui is involved here. The retention of the native term for WM rather than substitution by the Kachin term ni can be explained in terms of this connection with sa-ou Sl, a term for a relative younger than Ego.

The root *mi M is retained in (nga-)mi W, while (nga-)lang H agrees with the Maru-Burmese root *lang. Webb cites the teknonymous terms nga-zo yang-nu M ("my-child his-mother") and nga-zo yang-wa F ("my-child his-father").

We have no ethnographic material on the Maru or Lashi, but a brief note on the Atsi appears in Scott (p. 404). Scott describes an arrangement whereby "one family is so to speak general parents-in-law to another family and gives females only to members of the latter family", and adds that there is a "well recognized series of families among which women are regularly given or taken in marriage". It is apparent from the foregoing that the Atsi have marriage regulations of Kachin type. In the case of the Maru and Lashi, however, who have been less strongly influenced by the Kachin, no

601 conclusions can be drawn, despite the categorical equations in their kinship terminology.

Achang (Hotha Shan, Maingtha Shan), spoken in the Möng Hsa valley of the Southern Shan States, is a fourth language of Maru type. A few of its kinship terms have been recorded by Davies, Anderson, and Taylor (in the LSI). Achang is unusual in having preserved the Burmese root ní ySb, in the terms a-nyi yB, a-nyi a-nye yo ySi (cf. i-nyo "woman, wife"). Be oSi (Davies, in Scott) belongs with Lashi pe, Maru pai, and a-mong B (Anderson) with either *mang or *mong. In contrast to the languages just examined, no Kachin loan-words appear in Achang, spoken south of the Kachin area. Some Shan loan-words may occur, however; note especially tsai oB, Shan pi-sai; san-ke oSi, Shan s'an "young unmarried woman".

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197 601 [101] The Southern Lolo languages, spoken in the Southern Shan States, Laos, and Tonkin, are phonetically intermediate between Burmese-Maru and the Northern Lolo languages of southwestern China. The best preserved of these languages are Phunoi, in the French Laos, and the closely related Pyen, in Kengtung State, but our knowledge of the kinship terms of these languages is incomplete (Phunoi has been recorded only by Roux, and Pyen only by Stirling, in Scott). Akha (Kaw), which is spoken in the 5th Military District of the Laos and in Kengtung, has been recorded by Roux, Antisdel,

197 Stirling (in Scott), and Taylor (in the LSI), while Stirling
601 has also given us a record of Akŏ, a dialect of Akha. Lahu, another language of Kengtung State, has been described by Stirling, Davies, Antisdel, and Taylor (in the LSI). Both Akha and Lahu have been phonetically altered to such a degree that analysis is difficult, especially with the meagre material at our disposal. A list of Lahu kinship terms appears in the census report by Webb (p. lxiii), in the columns headed 'Myen' and 'Muhso' (Shan terms for the Lahu), but this material cannot be trusted. The writer has not been able to make use of the recently published Lahu grammar and dictionary by J. H. Telford, but has had the opportunity of discussing Lahu with the author (Harvard, March 17, 1941) and has thus been led to be skeptical of the terms cited in Webb. A group of four Southern Lolo languages spoken in the canton of Tŭông-yên, Haut-Tonkin, have been recorded by Bonifacy, who has added a few ethnographic notes on these tribes (Black Lolo, Man Khoanh, White Lolo, and Mŭng). Still other Southern Lolo languages, such as the Woni of southern China, are too little known to merit consideration.

601 Of the material mentioned above, only that relating to Lahu approaches completeness. We have indicated, however, that the Lahu data are not reliable, and we have hence refrained from tabulating the Lahu terms. Our remarks must of necessity, therefore, be confined to more general observations.

The Southern Lolo kinship terminologies are on the whole of Burmese type and many of the Burmese-Maru roots are represented, as shown by the following list:

601 gF *p'ui: Akha a-p'o, Lahu a-p'u, Man Khoanh, Black Lolo po, White Lolo pŏ, and perhaps Phunoi a-hu, Mŭng hŏu (cf. Mŭng ngŏu "to weep", Burmese ngui; Mŭng yŏu "breast", Black and White Lolo yu).

gN *p'i: Phunoi, Akha, Lahu a-p'i, Mŭng p'i, and perhaps Man Khoanh pe. A distinct root is represented by Black and White Lolo te.

F *p'a: Lahu a-p'a, Man Khoanh p'a, White Lolo pa, Black Lolo po, Mŭng pŏ mŏ (Black Lolo, Mŭng -o < -a in most instances; cf. Black Lolo, Mŭng so "salt", Burmese ts'a; Black Lolo, Mŭng lo "to come", Burmese la; Black Lolo, Mŭng ngo "5", Burmese nga^3). Akha has a-ta ~ a-da F, comparable with Burmese (Mandalay) $t'a^3$-$t'a^3$.

M *ma: Akha, Akŏ a-ma, Man Khoanh, White Lolo ma, Black Lolo mo. Phunoi, Pyen a-ba also belong here, since stops have in some instances been developed from nasals in these languages; cf. Phunoi, Pyen ga "I", Burmese nga; Phunoi da "sick", Burmese na; Phunoi bi "fire", Burmese mi^3. Mŭng bo M may also belong here. Note that in Southern Lolo a-ma rather than a-mi or a-me is employed, with the exception of Lahu, which has both a-me (Burmese a-me or a-mai) and a-ye (cf. Arakanese a-ywe "maternal aunt").

yŠb *ńi: Akha, Lahu nyi yŠb (Lahu also nyi-ma yŠi), White Lolo ni yŠi (also oŠi), Black Lolo ne yŠi.

Ch *za, D *za-mi: Akha za Ch, za-mi ~ ya-mi "girl", za-mi a-bu D, za-mi-za ~ ya-mi-ya "woman", mi-za ~ mi-ya W, Lahu ya-pa S, ya-mi ~ za-mi D, Phunoi ya-kat-ya Ch, Pyen

601 ya-plong S, ya-bye D, Mŭng zio Ch. This alternation between initial z- and y- has not been observed in other roots, but the material is not abundant. Some of the ya forms are perhaps related rather to the element -ya^{3} of Burmese yok-ya^{3} "man", mă-ya^{3} "wife" (Akha mi-za ~ mi-ya); note especially Akŏ ya-yu S, ya-mi D, ya-yo "man" (yok-ya^{3} reversed), ya-me "woman" (mă-ya^{3} reversed), but ka-ma "wife (Burmese yok-k'ă-ma^{3} "parents-in-law"). White Lolo a, Man Khoanh a-mi, Black Lolo o, perhaps belong with the same root, but cf. the Abor-Miri root *a Ch.

Other Burmese roots are represented only in a single language. Akha a-kŏ B (Roux) can be compared with the element -kui of Burmese ats-kui; cf. Akha gŏ "9", Burmese kui^{3}; Akha pŏ " silk", Burmese pui^{3} "silk, insect". Burmese mre^{3} < *m-li is perhaps represented by Akha (nga-)li S (Stirling), a-li "boy" (Antisdel), and Burmese tu-ma^{3} xNi by Akha tu-ma ~ to-ma Si. Pyen bong (< *mong), Phunoi a-mo (< *mong) F appear to be cognate with Burmese a-mong yB. Note that Pyen and Phunoi retain *p'a, the regular root for F, as a suffixed element in the word for "cock", viz. Pyen ya-pa, Phunoi k'ia-p'a (Burmese krak-p'a^{3}).

Only a few of the parents' siblings' terms are known, and these few are of little value. According to the lists in Webb, Lahu distinguishes between maternal and paternal aunts and uncles, viz. vi pau mo e tari MSi, vi ya FSi; vi pau ho e tari MB, p'au vi-pa FB. Despite this, however, a single term ni vi pa ya (with a- or nga- prefix) is

601 cited for the cousins of all four collateral lines, and (nga-)vi ya mi is cited both for BCh(ms) and BCh(ws), i.e. both parallel and cross nephew.

Lahu vyi(-pa) oB, vyi(-ma) oSi (identical with vi of the above terms), belongs with Man Khoanh, Black and White Lolo vi, Mĭng biŏi oB, Man Khoanh sa-vi, Mĭng biŏi-a oSi. For the phonetic development, cf. Man Khoanh, White Lolo vi, Black Lolo u-vi, Mĭng vŏi "snake". Note also Phunoi a-ĕ "uncle", ĕ "snake". This root cannot be traced in Burmese, unless it be connected with we < *wi "an inelegant term of compellation, masculine or feminine, used by men or women". Another prominent root, perhaps cognate with Achang tsi "wife", is represented by Phunoi a-tsu Si, Pyen a-tsi oSi, Akŏ a-su oSi. Cf. also Phunoi lu ai B, Pyen a-ai oB, Akŏ ai-i oB, perhaps a loan-word from Shan ai (applied to eldest son); and Man Khoanh lu yB, ySi, Black Lolo lu ~ lung yB.

The affinal terminology of the Southern Lolo languages is still more obscure than the consanguineal. The Lahu list in Webb is fairly extensive, but untrustworthy. The teknonymous use of a-p'i gH for Hl, and a-p'u gF for Fl, however, has been checked by information received from Telford. Akha (nga-)mi la ma Ml (Stirling) probably stands for (nga-)mi-ya ma, lit. "wife of mother" (Stirling cites la-gu la Ch, with la for za ~ ya). Pyen has yok-pa Fl, agreeing with Lashi yuk-p'o WF rather than with Burmese yok-p'a? WB. The k'ă- prefix of the Burmese affinal terminology is represented here by Phunoi k'ă-ba < *k'ă-ma,

●601 Pyen ka-ba < *ka-ma, Akŏ ka-ma W. This element has a much more generalized usage in Southern Lolo, however; cf. Phunoi ya-kat k'ɯ̆-p'si-a "boy", yat-kat k'ɯ̆-bai-a "girl", Pyen ka-pa-la "man", ka-ba-la "woman", Akha (nga-)ka-so-ya H (Stirling), ka-se-ya "man" (Stirling), k'a-je-za "man" (Antiedel), Man Khoanh sa-pua-k'a, White Lolo sa-ka, Black Lolo sa-ko "boy", Black Lolo ko-pu "male" (ko < *ka). Some of the Sbl terms appear to be identical with consanguineal terms; cf. Phunoi a-tsŭ Sil, a-tsu Si; Akha a-yŭ Bl, a-yu oB, a-nyi Sil, ySb.

The above rather heterogeneous array of material serves the purpose of establishing the Burmese affinities of Southern Lolo kinship terminology and of indicating the nature of this link between Burmese and the better known Northern Lolo languages. It is doubtful whether the general problems in connection with Burmish-Loloish terminology as a whole can be solved without some detailed information on these southern members of the group. The ethnographic sources on these tribes (Lunet de Lajonquière, Diguet, Telford, Scott, Bonifacy, Roux) contribute very little toward the filling of these lacunae, since topics such as clan organization and marriage regulations are scrupulously avoided by these authorities. There are no indications of cousin marriage, with the exception of the statement made by Telford to the writer, that the Lahu Shi (one of the two main Lahu divisions, the other being the

●601 Lahu Ba) sometimes marry their cousins (unspecified) but that the practice is frowned upon. For the Lolo of Tonkin, Bonifacy reports the practice of the levirate (with widow of oB only) and the sororate (a man may marry his wife's sister). Bonifacy also notes that people of the same tính (Annamite loan-word, ultimately from Chinese 姓 hsing "family name") cannot marry, but offers no details.

The matrilocal custom of the Burmese is found among several of these tribes, sometimes in what appears to be vestigial form. Among the Lahu, the Sl serves his Fl for a period of 1-3 years (Lahu Na) or 7 years (Lahu Shi), according to verbal information received from Telford (cf. also Telford, 1937, p. 96, and Scott, p. 586). The same practice (period of 3 years) formerly obtained among the Phumoi (until ca. 1900), but now the daughter-in-law must serve her husband's parents for one year (Roux, pp. 466,473). The Akha are patrilocal (the couple live in a small house near the groom's parents, vide Telford). After the marriage ceremony, the Akha bride weeps and sings a song telling of her sadness, after which she promises to return after her parent's death to pay the last duties; the bridegroom, furthermore, returns to the home of his bride's parents and presents offerings. In view of the matrilocal customs of their neighbors, it is not hard to look upon these features as transitional elements. Among the Lolo of Tonkin, the couple return to the bride's parents' [illegible]

●601 a two-day visit, and the bride returns again alone and remains with her parents until she becomes pregnant (Lunet de Lajonquiere, pp. 322 and sq.). This practice is also found among the Tai peoples of Tonkin (ibid.), from whom it may have been borrowed, yet it can well be interpreted along the lines suggested above. Writing of the same Lolo groups, Bonifacy observes that a man may earn his wife by working for his father-in-law and taking the family name (姓 tính) of the latter, or that he may obtain his wife without changing his name, and without paying for her, by supporting his aged parents-in-law.

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197 [101] The Northern Lolo languages fall into several large groups, viz. Lisu, a central bloc (Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho), a southeastern bloc (Chöko, Phupha), an eastern bloc (Ulu, Nasö), and the Independent Lolo dialects of Szuchuan. Of the above languages, Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi are fairly well known and Lolopho is somewhat less fully known, while the remaining languages have been recorded only in fragments. The general linguistic picture, however, is much clearer than in the case of the Southern Lolo languages, e.g. tonal equations have been worked out for Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi (in relation to Burmese). The bulk of the literature on the Lolo is entirely disproportionate to its value, largely because of the failure to recognize the thoroughgoing Burmese affiliations of these peoples. Much of it is

197 occupied with the futile question of the etymology of the name "Lo-lo", and with (largely) sterile discussions of Chinese sources. The most valuable of a number of articles of this type is the scholarly contribution by Feng and Shryock (cited infra).

One of the most useful criteria in distinguishing among these languages is found in the treatment of final -a, which is ordinarily retained in Lisu, Nyi, and Phupha, is shifted to -o in Ahi, Lolopho, and Chŏko (somewhat irregularly here), to -u in the Ulu-Nasŏ dialects, and is retained or shifted to -ŏ, -ɔ in the Independent Lolo group. These correspondences are illustrated by the following table:

	Lisu	Nyi	Phupha	Ahi	Lolopho	Chŏko	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
eat	dza	dza	dza	dzo	dzo	zo	dzu	dzŏ
salt	ts'a	ts'a	-	ts'o	ts'o	-	ts'u	tsŏ
five	ngwa	nga	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngu	ngwɔ

This criterion is not absolute, e.g. the Lisu dialect recorded in Clarke (Appendix II) has -o rather than -a, but is useful as a rule-of-thumb procedure.

601 In the present discussion the Lisu terminology will be analyzed first, followed by the Ahi-Nyi-Lolopho terminology [101] and annotations on the remaining groups. The Lisu (Lisaw) are primarily a Salween valley people, but have colonised extensively throughout most of Yunnan and have penetrated into northern Burma and the Shan States. The primary sources are the works of Fraser and Rose and Brown, but a number of

601 word-lists are available, those in Liétard (1909), Anderson, Davies, Scott, and the LSI (by Taylor) being the most important. Four different lists of kinship terms are given in Webb (pp. xlvii, xlix, lxii, lxiii), each showing many discrepancies, most of which are the result of the bizarre orthographies employed. Some ethnographic material is included in the first two sources and in Scott, and a sketch of the Lisu is given by Guibaut (pp. 316 and sq.).

Lisu Consanguineal Terms

(a-)lǎ-ma gggM	(a-)lǎ gggF
(a-)p'i-ma ggM	(a-)p'i ggF
(a-)za gM	(a-)pa gF
(a-)ma M	(a-)ba F
(a-)wo-ma MSi,FBW	(a-)wo FB,MSiH
(a-)nyi^{4} FSi,MBW	(a-)vǔ MB,FSiH
(a-)tsi oSi,pC	(a-)yi / ko-ko oB,pC
nyi^{3}-ma ySi,pC	nyi^{3}-za yB,pC
kwa-o'o-ma xCi	kwa-o'o xCo
(a-)mi D,pNi	za S,pNe
mǒ-du Ni	za-du Ne,C
za-ma xNi	za-[illegible] xNe
li-ma gD	li-pa gS
lǎ-ma ggD	lǎ-pa ggS

Lisu Affinal Terms

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ma-na	M1	ba-ba	F1
za-mɛ̈	W	za-gu	H
ma-la	oBW, HoBW	ei-fü	oSiH(ws), WoSiH
c'i-ma	D1	mo	S1

Notes:

The grandparent terms are those cited in Fraser. Three different arrangements appear in the lists in Webb, viz. a-la gF, a-pye gM (p. xlix); a-p'a FF, a-za FM, a-p'i MF, MM (p. lxiii); a-pa gF, a-za FM, a-p'o MM (pp. lxii, xlvii). There is thus some evidence for a distinction between maternal and paternal grandparents. A-pa gF belongs in the a-ba F series, other variants of which are a-p'a F, p'a "male suffix for birds", a-pa^{1} "male suffix for animals" (on different tone from a-pa^{3} gF); it thus parallels Miri a-to gF, a-yo gM, developed from roots meaning "F" and "M", respectively. A-p'i ggF is exactly equivalent to Burmese a-p'e^{3} < *a-p'i, but in some dialects, at any rate, it may be applied to gF rather than to ggF (as elsewhere in Lolo). The regular root for gF, as found in Burmese a-p'ui^{3}, is represented only in the phrase a-p'ɛ̈ a-pa "ancestors" (Lisu -ɛ̈ corresponds to Burmese -ui after initial labials, e.g. p'ɛ̈ "price", Burmese a-p'ui; bɛ̈ "silk", Burmese pui^{3}; mɛ̈ "sky", Burmese mui^{3}); it is perhaps related to p'ɛ̈ "price, to be precious" via p'ɛ̈ " to honour, esteem, respect" (cf. the remarks on Khahin, pt. 7). Reciprocal terminology

• 601 is reflected in a-lǐ ggg^{3}, lǐ-pa gg^{3}, a-na g^{4}, na 8 (note that in each case the ascending generation is one more removed from Ego than the descending generation).

The Lisu feeling for reciprocity can also be seen in the collective terms pa-la "father and children", ma-la "mother and children", pi-li "grandparent and grandchild" (pi^{1}-li^{5}, tonally distinct from $p'i^{2}$ g^{3}, li^{1} gCh), and note also ts'i-na lǐ-na "posterity, descendants" (ts'i "age"). The element -la appears elsewhere only in la-ts'o "person"; it may be connected with the Tibeto-Burman root *la "male" (Burmese a-la^{3}), and yields a better etymology than any other for the ethnic term La-la ~ Lo-lo ~ Ln-lu (root *la-la, vide supra), meaning simply "the people" (as Lolopho "a man of the Lolo tribe").

A-nyi FSi, written nye-nya, ni-nya in Webb, is from one standard Tibeto-Burman root (Tib. 'a-ne), but the affinities of a-wo FB and a-wǔ are not apparent, and the discussion of these terms has been reserved for the following section (on Ahi and Nyi). The MSi terms are uncertain, since Fraser cites a-wo-ma only for FBW, but in Webb we find o-ma MoSi, FoBW, along with zu-go MySi, FySW (the latter has not been identified). According to Fraser (p. 64), an especial term, viz. a-wo-p'a (p'a is male suffix) is used for father's eldest brother, while the remaining brothers are counted in Chinese fashion, with the aid of Chinese numerals, e.g. a-wo-lya "second uncle", a-wo-sɛ "third uncle", a-go-si

• 601 "fourth uncle". Webb cites a-p'a ~ u-p'a (= a-wo-p'a) FoB,HoSiH, a-wo ~ wo-wo FyB,MySiH, and Scott gives wu-p'a "uncle". The reduplication shown by wo-wo FyB is rather characteristic of Lisu; cf. a-ba ~ ba-ba F, a-ma ~ ma-ma M, vi-vi (for a-vĕ) MB, a'o-a'o (for kwa-a'o) xCe, ko-ko oB, ci-ci (for a-tsi) oSi.

Lisu ʷnyi yŞb, which is tonally differentiated from a-nyi FSi, shows the extension of the Burmese-Akha root into Northern Lolo, while a-yi must be derived from the Southern Lolo root ʷwi oB (Lisu lacks the combination wi, and hence has substituted yi). A-tsi oSi, which often appears in reduplicated form (ci-ci, je-je, si-se, si-ce, ci-ce) resembles a root found in Southern Lolo (e.g. Pyen a-tsi oSi), but seems at least to have been influenced by Chinese chieh-chieh (姐姐) oSi. The parallel term ko-ko oB is unquestionably a Chinese loan-word (哥 哥 ko-ko). There is no sure evidence that sex of speaker is distinguished in the sibling terms. The native term a-yi is used in the phrase yi-za nyi-za "relations".

Lisu za S (often written ra ~ la), a-mi D, and li gCh are directly cognate to Burmese sa^3, mi^3, and mre^3, respectively. Lisu has an alternative term for S, a-bi, which cannot be identified. Paralleling Burmese mre^3 < ʷm-li gCh, mrats < ʷm-lik ggCh, Lisu has li gCh, lĭ < ʷlak ggCh (for -ĭ < -ak, cf. nyĭ "bird", Burmese hngak; t'ĭ "up", Burmese a-t'ak; nĭ "black", nĭ "deep", Burmese nak; nyĭ "eye", Burmese ʷnyak; nyĭ "breath", Burmese a-sak..

●601 Our data on the collateral terms of Lisu are so inconsistent and conflicting that no certain conclusions can be reached. Fraser (p. 64) states that cousins on the father's side are called "brothers and sisters", and in his list of terms restricts the terms kwa-o'o and kwa-o'o-ma to cousins on the mother's side. The latter terms, however, are used for FBiCh as well as MBCh, according to the material in Webb, and the siblings terms are extended to include MBiCh as well as FBCh. The element -o'o appears also in o'o-pǎ "friend, companion, mate", but is otherwise isolated.

Sa-sa and sa-ma, formed with á sa- element found also in Nyi, can definitely be placed as xM terms. As shown in the above table, za S and a-mi D are extended to include pMe and pMi, respectively, yet za-du and mǎ-du are also employed in this sense as well as for "cousin". Neither term appears in the list in Webb, p. xlvii, yet in the list on p. xlix we find za-du used for BCh(mms),SiCh(mms), WBCh,MBiCh,WBiCh,FBCh,MBCh,MBiCh! Significantly enough, however, in this same list a separate term (a-pa) is employed for FBiCh (a man marries his FBiD, vide infra). Since the cognate Burmese-Maru term otu is applied specifically to xM, it would seem that Lisu has transferred this term to pM or to G while developing a new set of terms (sa-sa, sa-ma) for xM.

As shown by the terms ma-ma Sl, ba-ba Fl, consanguineal and affinal kin are commonly equated in Lisu. Fraser (p. 64) makes the following statement:

●601 It should also be noted that the Lisu has no term for any relation-in-law, except daughter-in-law (hchi-ma) and elder sister-in-law (ma-la). A daughter-in-law refers to her father and mother, brothers and sisters-in-law as her own father, mother, brothers and sisters respectively. Her own brothers, after her marriage, are referred to as her hue-mu, and her own sisters as her ne-ma.

This statement is not entirely accurate, inasmuch as at least two other affinal terms are in use (ci-fü, me), in addition to the terms p'a-mu and ne-ma cited in the last sentence. Fraser's definition of the latter two terms is not clear. Webb gives nye-ma yBW(ms), contrasting with ma-la oBW(mwo), apparently the same as Fraser's ne-ma, but p'a-mu does not appear in other sources. The terms seem to be identical with Nyi p'a-mu yB(ws), nö-ma yBi(ms), hence it is particularly regrettable that our information on them is not more precise.

Ma-la oBW,HoBW (but defined in Anderson as "Si") is the collective term for "mother and children" (supra), employed here as an honorific. The corresponding term ci-fü (ci-fi, ci-fu, je-fü) oSiH(ws),WoSiH is a Chinese loan-word (姊夫 chieh-fu). C'i-ma (si-ma) is directly cognate with Burmese k'rwe^{3}-ma^{3} < ok'rwi^{3}-ma^{3} (Lisu o'- < k'r-- cf. o'i "foot", Burmese k're; o'o "6", Burmese k'rok), and marks the only appearance of this root in Northern Lolo. Fraser does not cite the term for Si, but does give ne-li-p'a "bridegroom", o'i-ma-li "bride" (li^{1} "young", tonally distinct from li^{2} "ggCh"), while the forms (ngo-)miky myey myur (cf. mur for

601 za S) Sl are found in Webb. This term cannot be equated with Burmese sa-mak, since final -ak yields -ă rather than -o in Lisu (supra), and its affiliations remain in doubt.

Both za-mŏ W (za-mŏ za "woman", za-mŏ-lă-za "maiden") and za-gu H (za-gu-lă "youth") contain the element za S in combination, indicating that they may be of teknonymous origin. The element -gu can be compared with Burmese -kui in ats-kui oB and Akha a-kŏ B (cf. Lisu ku "9", Burmese kui^{3}; k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui^{3}; tu "short", Burmese tui). The Burmese-Maru element *yok, used for affinal relatives, is represented by mŏ-ro-ma "2nd wife", mŏ-ro-p'a "2nd husband", the terms for "1st wife" and "1st husband" being mŏ-wu-ma and mŏ-wu-p'a, respectively (wu "big"). Ro, like the cognate Burmese yok, is the numerary adjunct for mankind. The phonetic shifts are regular, since r- has been developed from y- in some instances (ru "to take", Burmese yu; rŏ ~ yŏ "to hit, as a bullet", Burmese yak; a-ro "sheep", early loan-word from Chinese 羊 yang), and -o stands for final -ok, as in go "to pick up", Burmese kok; o'o "6", Burmese k'rok; to "poison", Burmese tok; lo "enough", Burmese lok. For the semantics, cf. Maru yauk-p'o H.

The Lisu terminology outlined above has much in common with that of the central bloc of Lolo languages, viz. Ahi, Nyi, and Lolopho, spoken in central and east-central Yunnan. The Ulu-Nasŏ languages of the Yunnan-Kueichou border area, and the Independent Lolo languages of Szuchuan, are of the

601 same general type, while the Chŏko and Phupha languages of Tonkin show only minor aberrancies. All these languages will be considered together in connection with the Nyi terminology tabulated below. The Nyi terms, which are rather carefully defined in the classic source by Vial (1909), are the best known of the lot, but Liétard has given us valuable studies on Ahi (1909, 1911, 1912) and Lolopho (1909, 1913). Schirokogoroff's study of the Buŏ dialect is of some value in interpreting the orthographies employed by Vial and Liétard. Chŏko and Phupha have been recorded by Bonifacy (in Liétard, 1909). The Ulu-Nasŏ and Independent Lolo terms cited below have been excerpted from scattered word-lists in Liétard (1909), Madrolle, Bonifacy, Clarke, and d'Ollone (Kophm=Nasŏ no. 15, Ulu nos. 16 and 19, Independent Lolo nos. 30, 31, 32).

Nyi

• 601

Nyi Consanguineal Terms

(a-)du-ma gggM

(a-)bo-ma ggM

(a-)p'i gM

(a-)ma M

(a-)ma-gi̱ MoSi

(a-)ma-ɣ̱ɔ MySi

(a-)nyi FoSi

(a-)nyi-zà FySi

(a-)ɣ̱a oSi,pC

(a-)du gggF

(a-)bo ggF

(a-)bu gF

(a-)ba F

(a-)ba-gi̱ FoB

(a-)ba-ɣ̱ɔ FyB

(a-)hngɔ MoB

(a-)hngɔ-ɣ̱ɔ MyB

(a-)pu oB,pC

ngɨ̱-k'o ySb(ss),pC

nɨ̱-ma ySi(ms)

(a-)mɨ̱ FSiD,MBD

(á-)mɨ̱ D

ɣ̱ɔ-a-mɨ̱ gD

p'a-mu yB(ws)

(a-)nyi-zá FSiS

(a-)nhgɔ-zá MBS

za S

za-tu Ne

ɣ̱ɔ-za gS

ɣ̱o-za ggS

Nyi Affinal Terms

(a-)nyi-mo WF

ɣ̱u-ma HM

(a-)mi oBW

(a-)mɨ̱ HSi

za-mɨ̱-ɣ̱o MSi

(a-)hngɔ-mo WF

ɣ̱u-p'a HF

(a-)pu WoB

(a-)hngɔ-zá WyB

za-hngɔ Si,SiH(ms)

•601 Notes:

The terms a-bo ggF, a-bu gF, and a-p'i gM closely parallel Burmese a-p'o^3, a-p'u^3, and (Maru) a-p'yit < *a-p'yi, respectively. Ahi has a-p'i gM, a-pu gF, and Ulu has pie gM, bu gF, while Ind. Lolo has a-p'u gF. Chŏkɔ and Phupha a-p'o gM are perhaps cognate with Burmese a-p'wa^3, a root which is otherwise absent in the Lolo languages. Lolopho has a distinct set of terms, viz. a-le gF, a-mĕ gM, and Ind. Lolo has a-ma gM (cf. Lisu a-pa gF). Indications of distinctions between the paternal and maternal lines are lacking.

A-ba F and a-ma M are of almost universal occurrence, e.g. Lolopho a-bo < *ba F, a-mo < *ma M. Ahi has a-mo M, but a-ba rather than *a-bo F, the regular -o vocalism appearing only in the male suffixes -po and p'o; cf. ma "woman" (= Burmese mi^3). Ulu-Nasŏ has a-da ~ a-di F (cf. Akha) and a-nye ~ a-ny M (cf. Lahu), while in Ind. Lolo a-ta is used by children, a-bu ~ a-bo ~ a-pa by adults. The alternate Ulu term, viz. tie F, has been borrowed from Chinese (爹 tieh).

Both Ahi and Nyi describe the birth-order of FB, MSi in Chinese fashion, but with native terms. Nyi a-ba-giĕ FoB is identical with Burmese p'i-kri^3 (cf. dĕ "to beat", Burmese ti^3, a-mĕ-mĕ "self", Burmese mi^3-mi^3; mĕ "tail", Burmese mri^3; a-mĕ "daughter", Burmese a-mi^3), with Ahi giĕ, Burmese kri^3 "big". The element -le is likewise comparable with the -le^3 of Burmese u^3-le^3 FyB. The terms

601 for the youngest siblings are formed with nya "small", viz. a-ba-nya, a-ma-nya, and a-hnge-nya, and an especial term, a-ma-kn, is used for the next-to-youngest sister of M. Ahi has mo M,MSi, mo-li (= Nyi a-ma-le) "2nd oldest Si of M", mo-cu "3rd oldest Si of M", and mo-na (= Nyi a-na-nya) "youngest Si of M"; also a-bo bi-ta FoB (bi-ta "big"), and a-ra FyB, on the same tone as ra "big" (e.g. zo ra "eldest son"). It is tempting to connect this term with Burmese a-ri^{3} FSi, u^{3}-ri^{3} MoB, mi^{3}-ri^{3} oSil, since Ahi -a regularly corresponds to Nyi -i, Burmese -i; cf. ka "big", Burmese kri^{3}; k'a "to lift", Burmese k'yi; da "to beat", Burmese ti^{3}; na "near", Burmese ni^{3}; a-ma "self", Burmese mi^{3}-mi^{3}; ma "tail", Burmese mri^{3}; sa "to know", Burmese si^{3}; sa "fruit", Burmese si^{3} (Tibeto-Burman s-si in this series).

The important FSi and MB terms are known only for Nyi, but the latter can be inferred for Ahi. Nyi a-nyi FSi (but used for FoSi) agrees with Lisu a-nyi, and shows age distinctions just as the other FSb terms do; note the tonal difference between a-nyi-zà FySi, with the diminutive suffix -zà, and a-nyi-zá FSiS, with za 5 (we retain Vial's tonal notation). For Ahi we have only a-vu-mu Fl, but from the Nyi affinal terminology (infra) we can infer that a-vu is the term for MB, thus agreeing with Lisu a-vŭ MB. The initial v- tends to obscure the phonetic picture here, but the root is perhaps cognate with Maru vung, Lashi vang-ma MF,FSiH, from ◦wang. For the analysis of hnge, vide infra. Lolopho has borrowed Chinese terms, viz. a-kyu MB (舅 chiu ~ kiu), a-ku "aunt" (姑 ku, FSi).

•601 Both Nyi and Ahi parallel Burmese in distinguishing sex of speaker in ySb but not in oSb terms. Ahi shows some interesting discrepancies with Nyi, yet has the Nyi rather than the Lisu pattern.

Ahi Sibling Terms

(a-)vi oSi	(a-)mu oB
nö-mo ySi(ws)	ni-k'ye yB(ms)
na-mo ySi(ms)	p'o-mo-ze yB(ws)

Ahi ni-k'ye apparently belongs with Burmese ní, Lisu nyi ySb, and this root is also represented by Ulu ni-pa (d'Ollone, no. 19), Ind. Lolo nie-mo ySi (also oSi), and Lolopho nye-ma yB, nye-mo ySi. Nyi ngä-k'e contains the same suffixed element, but ngä must be compared rather with Burmese ngai "small"; cf. ngä "to laugh", Burmese rai; ä "to change", Burmese lai^{3}; a-vä "left (hand)", Burmese wai^{3}; vä "to buy", Burmese wai. Nyi has the root *nyi, however, in the combinations nyi-fä "oSi and ySi; oB and yB", nyi mu-nö "oB and ySi; oSi and yB". Similarly, Ahi na-mo ~ na-mo-zo ySi(ms) is from na "small" (Nyi nya), represented also by Chöko a-nya ySi, nya-pa yB, Ptupha nya-nö yB (a-nö ySi).

Ahi a-mu ~ a-mö oB (cf. a-pu ~ a-pö gF) points to an original *a-mu, Burmese *a-mui (cf. Kadu a-mu oB), but is perhaps to be connected with Maru mong, Lashi mang oB (the initial m- obscures the phonetic correspondence here). Nyi a-pu oB, is reminiscent of Tib. p'u-bo, Kachin p'u oB, but

•601 here it must be regarded as a development from the root represented by a-bu gP (on the same tone), i.e. the appearance of these two terms in Nyi does not constitute an argument against the identification of Burmese a-p'ui^{3} gP with Tib. p'a-bo, Kachin p'u oB. Nyi a-ʔa oSi has probably been developed from a root *a-ya M, while Ahi a-vi oSi (a-vi p'o-mo "Si and B") is connected with the Southern Lolo root *wi oB. Nyi has retained this root only in the combination vi-ngā "oB and yB", and Lolopho in a-vi Bi; note also Lolopho a-yi oB, a-ts'ŏ oSi, Lisu a-yi, a-tsi, id. Lolopho, the westernmost of the central Lolo bloc, has been influenced by Lisu, and this influence may account for the above terms. The root *wi is further represented by Ulu vyi-mo ~ (na-)vi oB, Ind. Lolo vi-van oB (Hadrolle). Chŏko and Phupha a-tsi oSi agree with Lisu a-tsi. The Chinese loan-word ko ~ ko-ko, which has already been noted in Lisu, appears also in Chŏko, Phupha a-ko, Ulu ko. Ulu has also borrowed the Chinese term 弟 ti yB; note especially ti-ko-ko oB, ti-ko-ti yB (Hadrolle).

Both Ahi and Nyi enumerate brothers (but apparently not sisters) after the fashion of aunts and uncles. In Ahi the series is as follows: a-mu bi-ta "1st oB" (bi-ta "big"), a-mu li "2nd oB" (li^{1} on same tone as to-li^{1} gS), a-mu co "3rd oB", a-mu ja "4th oB", a-mu na "last oB" (na "small"). Nyi uses a-pu alone for "1st oB", and a- prefixed or -la suffixed forms for the remaining terms, viz. a-ʔə ~ ʔə-la

601 "2nd oB" (cf. ʔə-ma gB), a-kə ~ kə-la "3rd oB", a-ja ~ ja-la "4th oB", a-ki ~ ki-la "5th oB". Nyi also has the corresponding series: ngă-k'e "1st yB", ngă-k'e ʔə-la "2nd yB", etc.

Nyi, Lisu p'a-mu, Ahi p'o-mo(-zo) point to an original *p'a-mong; cf. Nyi, Lisu tu, Ahi to "1,000", Burmese a-t'ong; Nyi tu, Lisu du, Ahi to "wing", Burmese a-tong. Nyi nŏ-ma, Lisu no-ma, Ahi nŏ-mo suggests an original *nam-mo; cf. Nyi, Ahi nŏ-gu, Lisu no-gu, Burmese nam-rui^{3} "ribs" (nam "side of body"); Nyi, Ahi nŏ, Lisu no "to smell", Burmese nam^{3}; Nyi tlŏ, Ahi t'ŏ, Lisu bye "to fly", Burmese pyam. The forms thus reconstructed, viz. *p'a-mong and *nam-ma, closely parallel Burmese-Maru *mong yB(ws), Lashi nam-mo yBi(ms), Burmese -hnam, id. (inferred from mong-hnam). The Lisu terms are of uncertain meaning (vide supra), and Ahi appears to have transferred nŏ-mo from yBi(ms) to yBi(ws), but the Nyi terms are exactly equivalent to the Burmese. Ahi also has the root *nam in isolation, in the form nŏ ~ nă "girl", used in poetry, in some current expressions (e.g. a-mu nŏ-mo "brothers and sisters"), and in girls' names, while the same term in Lolopho is said to be used only in songs and as a prefix to girls' names (Liétard, 1913, p. 166). Ahi further has zo-nă ~ a-nă-zo Ch, paralleling Nyi a-nŏ-mà, Lisu za-ne, id. The Lolo languages are thus seen to throw valuable light on the elusive root *nam ~ *snam, which has been encountered in a variety of meanings.

601 The Northern Lolo terms for S and D generally parallel Burmese sa^3, $sa\text{-}mi^3$, though the first element may be dropped in the latter term, e.g. Nyi a-mǐ, Ind. Lolo a-mi ~ a-me ~ a-mǒ, Ulu mǐ. Cf. Nyi za S, Ahi a-zo S, a-mǐ-zo D, Lolopho zo S, zo-mǐ D, Chǒke za S, za-mi D, Phupha za-za S, za-mi D, Ulu-Nasǒ zu ~ (na-)zu S, Ind. Lolo zǒ ~ ze S. The gS terms, from Burmese mre^3 < *m-li, usually coincide phonetically with the forms of the word for "4", from Burmese le^3 < *b-li, viz.

	Nyi	Ahi	Lolopho	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
four	ɣə	li	li	ɣi	ǒl
gCh	ɣə	li	li	ɣi	ǒl

Nyi ɣə-za, Ahi lye-zo gS correspond to Lisu lǐ-za, the phonetic correspondences being regular, viz.

	Burmese	Lisu	Ahi	Nyi
ascend	tak	dǐ	dye	de
black	nak	nǐ	nye	ne
leaf	p'ak	p'yǐ	p'ye	p'e
eye	myak	myǐ	nye	ne

We can thus safely reconstruct *lak ~ *m-lak gS, paralleling Burmese mrats < *m-lik.

The collateral terminology is represented by Nyi a-nyi-zá FSiS and a-hngə-zá MBS, which are literally descriptive terms, and a-mǐ FSiD, MBD, tonally distinct from á-mǐ D (Vial notes that "entres elles, les jeunes filles s'appelent ami et non ámi"). Nyi thus agrees with Lisu in distinguishing between parallel and cross cousins. The

601 descriptive cousin terms in Nyi are ts'ɔ -ve vi-ngɛ̀ pCe, ts' -ve mu-nɔ̀ pCi; according to Vial, ts'ɔ -ve signifies that one belongs to the "same degree" (cf. ts'ɔ "generation", ve "family"). It is not known whether Nyi also distinguishes between pN and xN, since we have only the single term za-tu "nephew". Ahi zo-to Ne can be inferred from zo-to li-zo "grand-nephew", zo-to a-mɛ̀ "grand-niece" (Ahi -o < -u, cf. o "head", Burmese u^3; t'o "thick", Burmese t'u; mo "to do", Burmese mu; ro "mad", Burmese ru^3). The root *tu also appears in Ulu (n-)tu Ne, a-ma(n-)tu Ni, ba(n-)tu C (cf. Lisu za$_2$du used for C as well as for Ne), Ind. Lolo ze(n-)tu Ne (zɔ̀ ~ te S), Lolopho zo-du Ne, zo-mi-du Ni (d'Ollone, no. 26). For Lolopho, d'Ollone also cites lao-piao C, a Chinese loan-word (老表 lao piao).

The Nyi distinction in Fl terms resembles that of Maru (na < *ni FBi,WM,HM, nyi MB,WF, vung <*wang HF) but is sharper, since WM and HM are differentiated. A-nyi-mo WM and a-hngɛ-mo WF are based on, but not equated with, a-nyi FBi and a-hngɛ MB, the additional element being mo "old", which appears also in a-mo (fem. a-mo-ma) "ancestor" (Phunoi ya mǎng "old man"). The terms ǔu-ma and ǔu-p'a, used by a man's wife, contain the characteristic Burmish-Loloish *yok, used as a numerary adjunct for mankind (Nyi ǔu, Lolopho yo); Nyi, Ahi -u, Lolopho -o correspond to Burmese -ok, as in Nyi ǔu-ma, Ahi ǔu-mo "ladle", Burmese yok-ma^3; Nyi a-nu, Ahi nu, Lolopho nyo "monkey", Burmese nyok;

●601 Nyi k'u, Ahi c'u, Lolopho c'o "6", Burmese k'rok. This root has the specific meaning "male" (vir) in Ulu yo (also used for H), and in Nyi za-ǔu (mountain dialect). In Lolopho, yo-p'o-zo and yo-mo-nǎ are defined simply as "Fl" and "Ml", respectively (Liétard, 1913, p. 159), but the corresponding Ahi terms, viz. ǔu-p'o and ǔu-mo, are used for WF and WM, i.e. the reverse of the Nyi usage. Yet Ahi ǔu-p'o is also used in the meaning "paternal ancestor". Liétard also cites a-lye-mo ~ a-lye-mu WM and a-vu-mu Fl, a-vu a-lye-mu "parents-in-law", hence Ahi makes a distinction similar to that found in Nyi (a-vu is perhaps the term for MB, comparable with Lisu a-vǔ, but the word is not cited in Liétard).

Both Nyi and Ahi have an especial term, viz. a-mi, for oBW, distinct from a-mǎ D (cf. Phupha mi "woman, wife", za-mi "daughter"). In Nyi, a man equates his sister's husband with his daughter's husband (za-hngə), while in Ahi a man refers to his oSiH as the "son-in-law" (sŏ-rŏ) of his oSi (a-vi), or as the "husband" (ǔŏ-ca-p'o) of his oSi (a-vi sŏ-rŏ ~ a-vi ǔŏ-ca-p'o), showing the semantic equivalence of "Sl" and "H" (bridegroom). In Nyi the WoB has the respectful appellation a-pu (oB), but WyB is significantly equated with MBS (a-hngə-zá) (under cross-cousin marriage WyB becomes MBS,ys). After the birth of the first child, however, the husband adopts the teknonymous term k'a-hngə WyB, from k'ə a-hngə "his MB". Teknonymous terms can also be applied to Ml and Fl, viz. a-mu M and

•601 a-ba F. In Lolopho a husband is addressed by his wife as a-po-ma (apparently from *pa F), and the wife is addressed by her husband as a-pi-ma (apparently from *p'i gM), but the descriptive term for a married couple is ni mi-yo, lit. "two wife-husband". The k'ə- prefix noted above may explain some or all the prefixed k'a- forms found in Burmese and Southern Lolo, e.g. Burmese yok-k'ă-ma³ Pl, but the point cannot be demonstrated with the available material. Both Nyi za-mi-ɣe and Ahi zo-mi-lye D1 are descriptive terms formed with the term for "wife" (Nyi mi-ɣe, Ahi mi-lye). In both languages, furthermore, the final element is gCh (Nyi ɣe, Ahi lye), used here as a diminutive. In Ahi, at any rate, this final element is not an essential part of the word and is dropped in phrases, e.g. k'ə mi "his wife", to be contrasted with k'á-mi < k'ə á-mi "his daughter". Nyi equates HSi with FSiD, MBD in the term a-mi (distinct from á-mi D), just as it equates WyB with MBS (a-hngə-ré).

The descriptive term for WB, SiH in Nyi is hngə-sa, in which hngə is said by Vial to refer to WB, and sa to SiH. The element hngə thus refers to ŒB and WB, or, under cross-cousin marriage, to WF and WB. On the phonetic side, initial hng- stands for ng- before the mixed vowel ə, and, like the latter, represents initial r-; cf. the following series, in which Ahi shows the retention of r-: Nyi ngiă, Ahi ra, Burmese rai "to laugh"; Nyi ngə, Ahi ro, Burmese ra³ "to obtain"; Nyi hngə(-pu), Ahi rŏ, Burmese ə-rui³ "bone";

601 Nyi hngə, Ahi rö, Burmese re "to count"; Nyi hngə, Ahi rö, Burmese rit "to cut". Nyi -ə, Ahi -ö are the regular correspondences for Burmese -ui; cf. Nyi k , Ahi kö, Burmese kui^{3} "g"; Nyi k'ə, Ahi k'ö, Burmese k'ui^{3} "to steal; Nyi ngə, Ahi ngö, Burmese ngui "to weep"; Nyi ts'ə, Ahi ts'ö, Burmese k'yui "to bathe". Nyi sa-hngə is thus directly comparable with Ahi sö-rö ~ sö-ngö S1 and with the first element of Ahi rö-ni HoB. The sa- element of Nyi appears to be identical with the sa- of Lisu sa-za, sa-ma (xNe,xNi), but Ahi sö- is perhaps distinct (it is on the same tone as sö^{4} " blood", from Burmese swe^{3}, but Nyi has sə, and Lisu has si). Lisu a-wo FB can be connected with the hypothetical Burmese *rui reconstructed from Nyi hngə, Ahi rö; cf. the parallel series furnished by "bone", viz.

	Burmese	Lisu	Ahi	Nyi
bone	a-rui^{3}	wo(-to)	rö	hngə(-pu)
	*rui	a-wo (FB)	rö (S1)	hngə (S1,MB).

The Tibeto-Burman original for this root would be *ru, which leads to Tib. sru-mo MS1, Kanauri ru F1 (< MB), and Pyu sru "relatives" (< "mother's relatives").

Ahi kö-pu-li yBiH is an unusually interesting term, combining as it does (a-)pu gF and (za-)li gS with a new element kö-. For pu-li, cf. the Lisu collective term pi-li "grandparent and grandchild". Kö- is isolated in Ahi, but may represent the root *kui < *ku found in Burmese ats-kui oB, Akha a-kö B (for the vocalism, vide supra).

●601 [101 197] There remains for consideration only the language of the Moso (Nakhi) of western Yunnan, which differs rather widely from the Northern Lolo languages just discussed. Only a few Moso terms, all badly recorded, are known; these have been taken from the works of Bacot, Rock, and Madrolle (by Monbeig) (note that in Madrolle the Moso and Kutsong = Tibetan lists have been accidentally reversed on pp. 564-65). The following terms are of Lolo type: a-ba F; a-mă ~ mă .. (also mi "female", in Rock); a-p'u gF (but a-tsŏ gM); a-bu oB (Nyi a-pu); zo S, mi ~ mi-zo D (also zu Ch, in Bacot). Note Moso a-p'u gF, a-bu oB, but Nyi a-bu gF, a-pu oB. The Sb terms are generally distinct from those in Lolo; Madrolle cites gŏ-zŏ yB, me-me oSi, ku-me ySi. Of primary importance, however, is the term a-gu Bl (Bacot), cognate with Ahi kŏ-pu-li ySiH, Akha a-kŏ B, and Burmese ats-kui oB; cf. Moso gu "9", Burmese kui^{3}; Moso k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui^{3}; Moso hngu "to weep", Burmese ŋgui.

Despite the extent of literature on the Lolo, almost no material bearing on our problem can be found. Ahi and Nyi, which linguistically are fairly well known, are ethnographic blanks. Cross-cousin marriage can be established only for the Lisu, and even here the source is linguistic (Fraser) rather than ethnographic (Rose and Brown). Fraser's remarks in this connection are worth quoting in extenso, since the work is rare:

> Sometimes an exchange will be made between two families, a man giving his daughter to another's son in exchange for the latter's daughter for his own son; this arrangement

601 cancels the bridal prices and none is given by either party. In most cases a Lisu will require the same sum of money for his daughter that he himself gave for his wife, the mother. This is often tantamount to an exchange, for the custom in most districts is that the girl, or at any rate one girl in the family - be given back in marriage to her mother's people. But she must never be given to a member of her own clan, even if the relationship is too remote to be traced. Indeed if two Lisu families live in widely separated districts between which there is no intercommunication, so that it may be safely inferred that they are not related at all, they must not intermarry if they happen to have the same clan surname. Possibly this custom also is to be put down to Chinese influence, for the Chinese are equally strict in this regard. Yet a Lisu may marry his father's sister's daughter without any thought of inconsistency. E.g. a Lisu Macdonald will give his sister in marriage to a Lisu Macgregor. His son may marry a daughter of the latter marriage, because she is a Macgregor and he a Macdonald. That such a union is undesirable from the standpoint of consanguinity does not occur to him, yet by some peculiar mental kink he would stoutly object to marrying his son to a Miss Macdonald, even though the relationship might be nil, because he and she are both Macdonalds. In some districts certain clans are said to be related to certain other clans, and they are not supposed to intermarry. But there is no arrangement whereby a certain clan is permanent parent-in-law to another clan, as there seems to be among some tribes of Kachins. (p. ix)

Fraser further states (note to p. ix) that "There are cases of Lisu marrying their own father's sisters, but this is rare and looked down upon". In a note to the term sa-ma SiD (p. 65), Fraser observes that "A Lisu can demand her [SiD] in marriage for his son; to refuse to give her means a lawsuit and the payment of a fine". We thus have compulsory cross-cousin marriage in combination with occasional marriage to FSi. The latter does not appear to be reflected in the Lisu terminology, but the former is correlated with the sharp distinction drawn between parallel and cross cousins and nephews. A distinction between FSiD and MBD is found only in the Lisu list in Webb, p. xlvii, which has sa-du

●6001 FSCh, WBCh, MBiCh, but a-pa FSiCh. Under the Lisu system of sister exchange, FSi becomes MBW (a-nyi^{A}, used for both) and hence FSiD is equivalent to MBD, i.e. both collateral lines are merged. Note that despite these marriage practices Lisu lacks categorical equations in the Fl terms, using only the consanguineal terms ma-ma Ml, ba-ba Fl. It can be inferred that these are used only in address, just as Nyi uses e-ma (= a-ma) and e-ba (= a-ba) in address, but a-nyi-mo WW (a-nyi FoSi), a-hngə-mo WF (a-hngə MoB), ǰu-ma HW, and ǰu-p'a HF in description.

Lǽtard (1913) has given us a lengthy account of the Lolopho, in which an unusual marital pattern is described, but without specific information on marriage regulations. The Lolopho have taken over the Chinese surnames (姓 hsing) but, according to this authority, attach no importance to them in marriage. Patrilineal inheritance of property is mentioned, but no actual clan nor lineage organization is described. The familial situation, which is altogether remarkable, is attributed by Lǽtard to the practice of child marriage in combination with the recognition only of Chinese marriage laws. A woman normally has a lover, who is the actual father of her children. The legal father and husband of the woman supports the children in the main, and they take his name and inherit his property. The duties of the lover are to make sandals for the woman and her children and to buy clothes for the latter. The terminology used is of some interest. The children address the legal husband as

a-bo F (the native term), the lover as ta-tie, a Chinese loan-601
word (大爺 ta tieh gF, but tieh F). Descriptively, the former is called a-bo mi "father-nourisher", the latter a-bo k'a "father-true".

A brief description of the Szuchuan (Independent) Lolo by Martin appears in the above source (pp. 31-32). The so-called "family" (kye, from Chinese 家 chia~kia) is described as a patrilineal exogamous sort of tribal unit. A single village often contains two tribes, which may intermarry even though related on the mother's side within the 2nd degree. We can infer that cross-cousin marriage, probably with first as well as with second cousins, occurs among these Szuchuan Lolo.

The organization of the Independent Lolo into the "Black Bone" or noble caste, and "White Bone" or lower caste, has been a perennial source for learned discussions of the Lolo and their origin (usually placed in Central Asia or some other conveniently distant place). The terms in general use are Chinese, viz. hei ku-t'ou (黑骨頭)" Black Bone", pai ~ pe ku-t'ou (白骨頭)"White Bone", but the use of "bone" in this connection cannot be explained on the basis of Chinese. On the Tibeto-Burman side, however, we have an obvious explanation in Tibetan rus(-pa) "bone, lineage", Burmese a-rui^{3}, id. This identification can be traced in Lolo itself, since Nyi uses hngè (cf. hngè-pu " bone") as a numerary adjunct for ve "family", e.g. ve t'i hng "one family", lit. "family one bone", also abbreviated to

601 t'i hnga "one bone" The Chinese terms hei ku-t'ou and pe ku-t'ou must be regarded simply as translations of native Lolo terms. Insofar as the writer is aware, this obvious explanation has not been suggested by previous writers in the field.

The custom whereby the bride returns for a visit to her parent's home, already observed among the Southern Lolo, is also in evidence among their northern neighbors. Among the Lolopho (Liétard, 1913, pp. 152 and sq.), the bride is carried to the groom's home by her elder sister, and remains there for from two to four days, in the company of her elder sister. The couple then pass several days with the bride's parents, after which the bride returns to her husband's home to stay. Madrolle (p. 539) records a similar custom for the Eul-yi-tseu (= Uln), but states that this is now disappearing in the face of Chinese influence. Here the couple remain three days with the family of the groom, then return to the bride's home, where the groom remains only overnight but the bride lingers for from eight to ten days before re-joining her husband.

113 Bibliography 1/n

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1 [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia ALI -- Analyst]